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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL BOARD POLICYMAKING ON FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

by

Simone Marie Anne Demers-Secker

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

(FALL, 1988)

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AN ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL BOARD POLICYMAKING ON FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

submitted by Simone Marie Anne Demers-Secker in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Educational Administration.

Don Kay
Supervisor
R. G. McIntosh
Laurence McDiarmid

Date: October 12, 1988

DEDICATION

The author dedicates the study to the Edmonton Catholic School District on its Centennial celebration of A HERITAGE FOR THE FUTURE. May the next one hundred years reflect the faith and commitment of the many predecessors whose dedication and service have enhanced the education of all students entrusted to district educators. May the vision and dreams of our contemporaries and the imagination and resourcefulness of our children guide the challenge of future choices during the next one hundred years.

The study is also dedicated to the memory of the author's mother, Anna Marie Eva Mageau-Demers (1901-1986), whose faith, love and pride guided, encouraged and inspired her daughter to meet the challenge of choices throughout the years.

ABSTRACT

To gain insight into school board policymaking, this thesis described and analyzed the pattern of events which influenced the Edmonton Catholic School Board to establish a French language school and to adopt policy on French language education. The historical context of French language education in the school district provided background to the description of the policy formulation process. The decision-making process was analyzed in terms of six theoretical frameworks on public policymaking.

Data were obtained primarily from official minutes and official reports to the Board of Trustees and from interviews with key actors in the political process. An examination of official School Board Minutes from 1970 - 1986 provided background to the study and verified the record of events which occurred between 1982 - 1986. Twelve key respondents, selected by means of a modified leadership pool, were consulted by interview on their perceptions of their role in the process, sources and levels of influence, gatekeeping structures, the nature of the decision-making process and their view of future developments.

In comparing the policymaking activities and the conceptual frameworks, several conclusions became apparent. The primary finding that emerged indicated that a System

framework based on a combination of the Rational Model and the Systems Theory bears the greatest resemblance to what actually transpired in the policymaking process. Bureaucratic channels were the main avenues for processing the values, preferences and expectations of district residents. Individuals or groups who sought to influence policymakers utilized both bureaucratic and political channels of communication but proponents used political channels to a greater extent than did opponents to influence the politicians to accept the justness of their demands. Supporters possessed a high degree of potential influence which they manifested more than did opponents.

A consultative systems approach determined the values and preferences of constituents and the level of acceptability of policy change. The Board of Trustees made allocative and regulatory decisions which represented the views, expectations, and preferences of all stakeholders. These decisions shaped the retrospective language policy which enhances the linguistic and cultural education of Francophone minority language children and of all Canadians learning French as a second language.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

School Boards, as local government jurisdictions, have a delegated responsibility for the administration, management and operation of school districts. Trustees have the mandate to develop educational policies which are consonant with the mandatory obligations and the discretionary powers delegated to them by the provincial government. To provide effective educational leadership, trustees are obligated to adopt district policies which respond to local educational needs in a manner that is "consistent with provincial statutes and regulations" (Caldwell and Tymko: 1980:6) and in conformity with all other laws of the land.

In defining policy problems, well-informed trustees exhibit a sensitivity to the diversity of interests and value preferences of their electorate. Since the 1970s, the public expects school boards to establish consultative structures for citizen participation in the fair and equitable resolution of local issues. An analysis of the political processes which influence and shape school board policy decision-making should assist major stakeholders to better understand and appreciate local school governance in Alberta.

An important educational phenomenon of the past decade has been the widespread interest of many parents in providing their children with a bilingual education in Canada's official languages. One manifestation of this was that English-speaking parents began to enroll their children in French immersion programs. At the time, Francophone parents did not indicate dissatisfaction with the 1968 and 1976 Ministerial regulations that had increased the amount of classroom time for French language instruction.

Spurred by the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Franco-Albertan parents and their educational leaders believed that the aspirations of the Francophone community would be actualized with the establishment of publicly-funded official-language minority schools. As the popularity of French immersion programs grew amongst the non-French-speaking population, a number of Francophone parents and educators perceived a slow erosion of bilingual competence by French-speaking children who had been gradually integrated into immersion classrooms. When the Francophone leaders and educators became aware that 51% of Francophone children were slowly being assimilated into the language and culture of the English majority, a number of Francophone parents became concerned (Perron, 1981). They became convinced that French immersion schools were more responsive to the bilingual needs of English-speaking children than to the cultural and linguistic needs of their

children ("L'école d'immersion est un non sens," Le Franco, 1983: August, 1983). To ensure their survival as one of the official language groups, Franco-Albertans began to demand a new strategy for minority language education (Proposal for the initial phase of "l'Ecole française à Edmonton", 1982).

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to conduct a policy analysis of the process of decision-making which characterized the Edmonton Catholic School Board's adoption of a fundamental change of direction for the delivery of French language education in a publicly-funded facility. The decision (Board Minutes, 1983: June 20) which provided that

> Plans be commenced for the opening of a French Language School Grades K-6 in September, 1984, subject to the enrolment guidelines that currently exist at the school system level and subject to the appeal to the Board if numbers of students are inadequate

was the first step towards a revision of the district Language Policy. The study focused on the events of the 1982-1984 period which led to the official opening of Ecole Maurice Lavallée, Alberta's first publicly-funded French Language school. The study also examined the process which led to the adoption of district Language Policy # 403.

The analysis consisted of an exploration of the reasons for policy decisions, an examination of the political processes which were involved, and a discussion of the consequences of the decisions. In order to describe the

events which occurred as thoroughly and as accurately as possible, the researcher addressed the following issues:

a) identification of the key points of influence or leverage (Gergen, 1968: 181);

b) examination of structural obstructors and facilitators;

c) consideration of the educational and/or political nature of the decisions; and,

d) consideration of the symbolic and tangible effects of the decisions.

In order to achieve these purposes, questions were utilized during open-ended interviews with key actors to determine the sources of input and influence from decision-makers and interest groups, gatekeeper structures, the nature of the political process and symbolic and tangible consequences of the policy decisions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study can be justified on scientific and political grounds. Dye (1981: 6) asserted that the study of public policy has at least three desirable outcomes. First, "an understanding of the causes and consequences of policy decisions improves our knowledge about society," about the linkages between environmental forces, political processes and policy decisions. Although an analysis of the causes and consequences of the decision to establish a minority French language school cannot provide a complete picture of a complex process, it can provide an increased understanding

of the policymaking process when its findings are juxtaposed with other studies of policy development and implementation.

Second, policy studies provide an historical account of the political dynamics which lead educational leaders to adopt specific public policies. We would expect that policy based on verifiable facts as opposed to policy which is adopted solely for political advantage would result in a superior public solution to educational problems.

Third, Dye (1981: 7-8) suggested that policy studies are significant when they "inform political discussion, advance the level of political awareness, and improve the quality of public policy." The historical description of actions undertaken to protect the constitutional language education rights of Franco-Albertans should inform political awareness. It should also contribute to a greater understanding of the direction to be taken in any future policy decisions on official languages education in provinces with an English-speaking majority.

The study is also significant in that it shall provide a descriptive historical account of the initiation of minority language education as guaranteed by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982 within the context of school board policymaking processes.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Policy Analysis

Policy analysis involves a description of the content of public policy; an assessment of the impact of environmental forces on the content of public policy; an analysis of the effect of various institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy; an inquiry into the consequences of various public policies for the political system; and an evaluation of the impact of public policies on society, in terms of both expected and unexpected consequences. (Dye, 1981: 19) Policy analysis of the policy processes examines the administrative, organizational, and political activities and attitudes that shape the transformation of policy inputs into policy outputs and impacts (Dunn, 1981: 282).

Policy

A public policy (Stringham, 1974: 17) is a major guideline for future discretionary action which is generalized, philosophically based, and implies an intention and pattern for taking action.

Policy Actions

Policy actions are regulatory decisions which are designed to ensure compliance with certain standards or procedures. They are allocative policy decisions when

they serve to allocate resources of time, money, personnel, equipment or supplies resulting in distributive as well as redistributive consequences (Dunn, 1981: 281).

School Boards Policies

School Board policies (Wilson, 1976: 18) are statements for regulatory or allocative actions which set forth the purposes and prescribe in general terms the organization and program of a school system. They create a framework within which the superintendent and his staff can discharge their assigned duties with positive direction.

Model

A model is a simplified representation of some aspect of the real world which structures reality so that it can be more easily understood. In political analysis, various conceptual models provide a separate focus on political life, and each can help to understand different things about public policy (Dye, 1981: 19-20).

Bilingual program

A program in which a second language other than the child's mother tongue is taught as a subject and two or more other subjects are instructed in the second language up to a maximum of 50% of the time.

French Immersion program

A program in which the students are instructed in the French language over 50% of the instructional time. It is a program designed for students whose first language is other than French in which French is taught and acquired as a second or additional language. (Canadian Parents for French (CPF) and l'Association canadienne francaise de l'Alberta (ACFA), 1986: May)

French language school

A French language school offers a program of studies designed for students whose mother tongue is French in a setting where French is taught and acquired as a first language in a distinct educational facility where the educational and cultural needs of Francophones are met. (CPF and l'ACFA, 1986: May)

Anglophone and Francophone

Terms used as nouns or adjectives in reference to an English-speaking or French-speaking inhabitant of a bilingual country.

DELIMITATIONS

This study was delimited to an analysis of those events which were relevant (1) to the establishment of a unilingual French school within the Edmonton Separate School system, (2) to the decision-making process in the Board policymaking

which culminated in the official opening of Ecole Maurice Lavallee and (3) to the formal adoption of Policy # 403.

Data were gathered through an analysis of relevant primary source documents such as written documents from Edmonton Catholic School Board meetings as well as correspondence, committee reports, briefs and newspaper reports by witnesses to the policy development and implementation and to a consideration of legal and educational resources pertaining to the policy issue. Examination of primary sources was restricted to official documentation which either supported or opposed the promotion of this policy.

The researcher identified key personalities who were representative of parents, educators, trustees, district administrators, and Alberta Education officials and had participated in various stages of the promotion, adoption or implementation of the French language policy. Open-ended interviews were conducted with these key actors to clarify and validate the various positions, views and expectations of the major stakeholders in the policy formulation and implementation process.

LIMITATIONS

There are a number of limitations to this study. The most serious limitation is that the researcher conducted all but one of the interviews between May 29 to September 15,

1986 during a three year absence from active trusteeship. The researcher was one of the decision-makers of the June 20, 1983 policy decision and continues to be involved in educational governance as a trustee of the Edmonton Catholic School Board since October 15, 1986. Certain inferences may reflect the investigator's bias due to her active involvement in the resolution of educational issues dealing with official bilingualism within the school district.

There may have been distortions of events by respondents who may have memory lapses and be unable to accurately recall past events. Most respondents continue to be involved in the evolution of French Language education and were asked to recall events which had taken place four or five years earlier. There may have been confusion between the events of the present lobbying for French language educational rights with the events occurring between 1982 - 1984.

ASSUMPTIONS

These assumptions were made in conducting the study:

1. It was possible to determine the causes and consequences of the decision to institute French Language education for Roman Catholic children having minority language constitutional rights in the City of Edmonton through a review of the primary source documents and through structured interviews.

2. The documents reviewed provided an accurate and adequate account of the significant events which took place and were relevant to the purpose of the study.

3. Those individuals who were identified as having been key actors could accurately recall past events and perceptions which were central to the study.

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

The findings of the study and of the interviews have been analyzed to identify key themes described by various political analysts. Most of the generalizations reflect a combination of Thomas Dye's models for political analysis. The data have been placed in chronological order, grouped according to key issues, and organized in response to the major questions posed.

Implications for stakeholders, administrators and decision-makers shall be stated to provide an understanding and appreciation of the process of local School Board decision-making and of the content of Language Policy # 403 which evolved in response to demands for minority language educational rights.

In view of the continued lobbying by various groups of society, the researcher shall suggest research opportunities to pursue the investigation of democratic processes which enable citizens to work with elected representatives to

effect educational change.

ORGANIZATION

The thesis is organized into eight chapters. In chapter 1 the purpose and significance of the study are presented along with the research questions investigated. Selected terms are defined and the delimitations, limitations and assumptions which governed the conduct of the study are stated.

Chapter 2 contains a review of literature on policy analysis and on models for policymaking. The researcher investigated models of political analysis proposed by Thomas Dye to explain the general causes and consequences of public policy. The researcher sought to discover which of the following perspectives or which combination of views could most adequately and most thoroughly describe and explain the specific case study: these models included the institutional model, the group model, the elite model, the rational model, and the systems model.

In chapter 3 the methodologies employed to address each of the four major areas of policy analysis associated with the study are discussed.

The fourth chapter which provides an historical context for the policy examined is divided into two parts. First, there is a review of French language education since the establishment of the Edmonton Separate School District # 7

in 1888 to 1968. Secondly, the increase in French language education services and the awakening of the Francophone community to the effects of assimilation are discussed in the light of School Board policies from 1968 to 1980.

A chronological description of the political process to establish a French minority language school between 1982 to 1984 which led to the adoption of Language Policy # 403 is provided in chapter 5. Conclusions are drawn regarding the implications of the policy content as a discretionary guide for action to enhance the constitutional rights of Franco-Albertan minority language students.

Chapter 6 contains an analysis of the data collected on the policymaking and policy implementation process. The data pertain to inputs from interest groups, administrators and decision-makers on sources of influence, gatekeeper structures, the nature of the political process and symbolic and tangible consequences of policy decisions taken by the Board of Trustees on the issue of French Language education.

The seventh chapter contains a discussion of the findings of the study from the perspective of elements of the systems model, the group model, the elite model, the rational model, the institutional model and an integrated framework.

The final chapter is comprised of a summary of the study, conclusions, implications and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter constitutes a review of the literature dealing with public policy and includes a discussion of policy, policy analysis, the policymaking process and educational decision-making. For purposes of the study, policymaking was viewed from the perspective of five different models: the systems model, the group model, the elite model, the rational model and finally, the institutional model. An integrated system framework was adopted for analysis of the research findings.

DEFINITIONS OF POLICY

Although numerous studies of the policymaking process have been undertaken, there appears to be no generally accepted definition of policy in the academic literature.

Thomas R. Dye (1985: 1) stated that "(p)ublic policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do." Stringham (1974: 17) viewed policy as a major guideline "which is generalized and philosophically based, and implies an intention and pattern for taking action." David Easton (1953: 129) defined public policy as "the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society."

In focusing on what is actually done as opposed to what is proposed or intended, Anderson (1984:3) recommended the

concept of policy as "(a) purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or a matter of concern. Public policies are those policies developed by governmental bodies and officials."

Leslie A. Pal (1987: 4) differentiated between intention and impact in defining public policy as "a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems."

APPROACHES TO A STUDY OF POLICY ANALYSIS

In general terms, policy analysis studies could be defined as a "description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity" which may involve a study of: (1) the content of the public policy; (2) the impact of social, economic, and political forces on the content of the public policy; (3) the effect of institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy; and, (4) the consequences of the public policy on society (Dye 1981: 2).

Policy analysis, according to Dunn (1981: 35), could be conceived of as "an applied social science discipline which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilized in political settings to resolve policy problems." He construed that "factual information about the causes and consequences of policy is essential for understanding public

problems" and for identifying the variables which were manipulated by policymakers to resolve problems. Decision-makers require a type of analysis "that generates and presents information in such a way as to improve the basis for policy-makers to exercise their judgment . . ." (Quade, cited in Dunn, 1981: 35).

Pal (1987: 27) observed that there were three general styles of policy analysis: (1) descriptive, which includes content analysis and historical analysis; (2) process; and (3) evaluation, which includes logical, empirical and ethical evaluation.

THE POLICYMAKING PROCESS

In describing the policymaking process, Pal (1987: 102-124) provided a model of the policy process that includes the following five phases: (1) problem definition or issue identification, (2) agenda setting, (3) policy formulation, (4) policy adoption, and (5) policy evaluation.

A useful definition is proposed by Friedrich (1963: 79) who defined the policymaking process as "a course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or a purpose".

Policymaking is a multi-faceted process that can be best understood claimed Dunn (1981:51-54) by distinguishing

between three dynamically interrelated styles of analysis. He identified the following forms of analysis as conventional guides for decision-makers:

1) Prospective policy analysis which involves the production and transformation of information before policy actions are initiated and implemented;

2) Retrospective policy analysis which involves the production and transformation of information after policy actions have been taken; and,

3) Integrated policy analysis which combines a concern for the production and transformation of information before and after policy actions have been taken with continuous production and transformation of information over time.

Lindblom (1968) maintained that policymaking was more the result of outside pressures brought to bear on a political structure than of action initiated inside the organization. Peterson (1976) envisioned policymaking as a bargaining and negotiating process among a plurality of individuals, groups, agencies and interests. Dahl (1961) also viewed community power as being scattered among various competing interest groups.

Whereas Kimbrough (1964) believed that influence is held by informal elites and informal interest groups involved in informal interactions, Keller (1963) considered that power is in the hands of a minority of individuals or elites designated to serve a collectivity in a socially valued way.

ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

Although it has not traditionally been a domain for political analysis, education is a proper arena for political study. As alternatives are sought for traditional educational structures in a time of rising educational costs, the interest in the study of policymaking in education has increased. According to Gove, Wirt & Walker (Cited in Nagel, 1984: 179), a public understanding of who ultimately benefits from the outputs of the policy system should be clarified by an analysis of the roles and interactions of partisans of public education who attempt "to secure a more favorable allocation of resources and values from the political system."

Prior to the early 1960s, Nagel (1984:175) explained that "recognition of the political nature of educational policymaking was virtually absent from the political science literature." The construction of theories on educational politics had only limited frameworks of analysis and the Eastonian framework had generally been utilized in case studies conducted in restricted locales.

In Alberta, case studies by Stringham (1974), Tymko (1979), Sloan (1980), Zolf (1984), Fennell (1985) and Bosetti (1986) investigated the process of educational policy development and implementation for elementary and secondary schools. Small (1979), Taylor (1980), Barrington (1981) and Glanville (1986) examined the political process

in the formulation of post-secondary educational policies.

Research on the governance of public education by Alberta school boards has been scarce. A recent descriptive study of the policymaking process in a rural Alberta county school system was completed by Allan in 1985.

UTILITY OF SELECTED MODELS FOR POLICY ANALYSIS

The policy sciences literature describes a number of models which are intended to illuminate the process of public policy decision-making. The purpose of these conceptual models, according to Dye (1981: 19), is to simplify and clarify our thinking about public policymaking processes; to identify important political influences in society; to communicate essential knowledge about political life; to direct inquiry on the relevance of public policies; and finally, to suggest explanations for the causes and consequences of policy decisions.

Because the policymaking process is very complex, a conceptual model can provide "a separate focus on political life and each can help us to understand different things about public policy (Dye, 1981: 19). There is no single comprehensive theory that has been recognized as the definitive theory on the analysis of public policy. There are equally many opinions as to the key components of the policymaking process.

The understanding of public policymaking can be

enhanced by the application of a number of models to a specific policymaking and policy implementation situation. In light of the policymaking process which guided the Edmonton Catholic School District in establishing a French elementary school and adopting a new policy on language education, the following models will be reviewed: the systems model, the elite model, the group model, the institutional model, and the rational model.

Systems Theory: Policy as System Output

Systems theory views policy as a response of a political system to forces brought to bear upon it from the environment. Environmental forces that affect the political system are viewed as inputs. The environment is any condition or circumstance defined as external to the boundaries of the political system. The political system is that group of interrelated structures and processes which authoritatively allocates values for a society. Outputs of the political system are authoritative value allocations of the system, and these allocations constitute public policy (Dye, 1981: 41).

Public policy, from the systems perspective, is viewed as the ouput which results from the political system processing various demands and supports. Policy demands such as demands for allocations of goods and services or demands for participation in the political system occur

when individuals or groups, in response to real or perceived environmental conditions, act to affect public policy. This is often the result of a perceived discrepancy between what the individual or groups perceive themselves to have and what they want. Support in the policymaking process is rendered in the form of acceptance of the outcome of elections, obedience to laws and regulations, participatory support and material support.

The value and utility of the systems model (Figure 1) as indicated by Dye (1981:42-43) is that it poses the following key questions on which to base a policy analysis:

1. What are the significant dimensions of the environment that generate demands upon the political system?
2. What are the significant characteristics of the political system that enable it to transform demands into public policy and to preserve itself over time?
3. How do environmental inputs affect the character of the political system?
4. How do characteristics of the political system affect the content of public policy?
5. How do environmental inputs affect the content of public policy?
6. How does public policy affect, through feedback, the environment and the character of the political system?

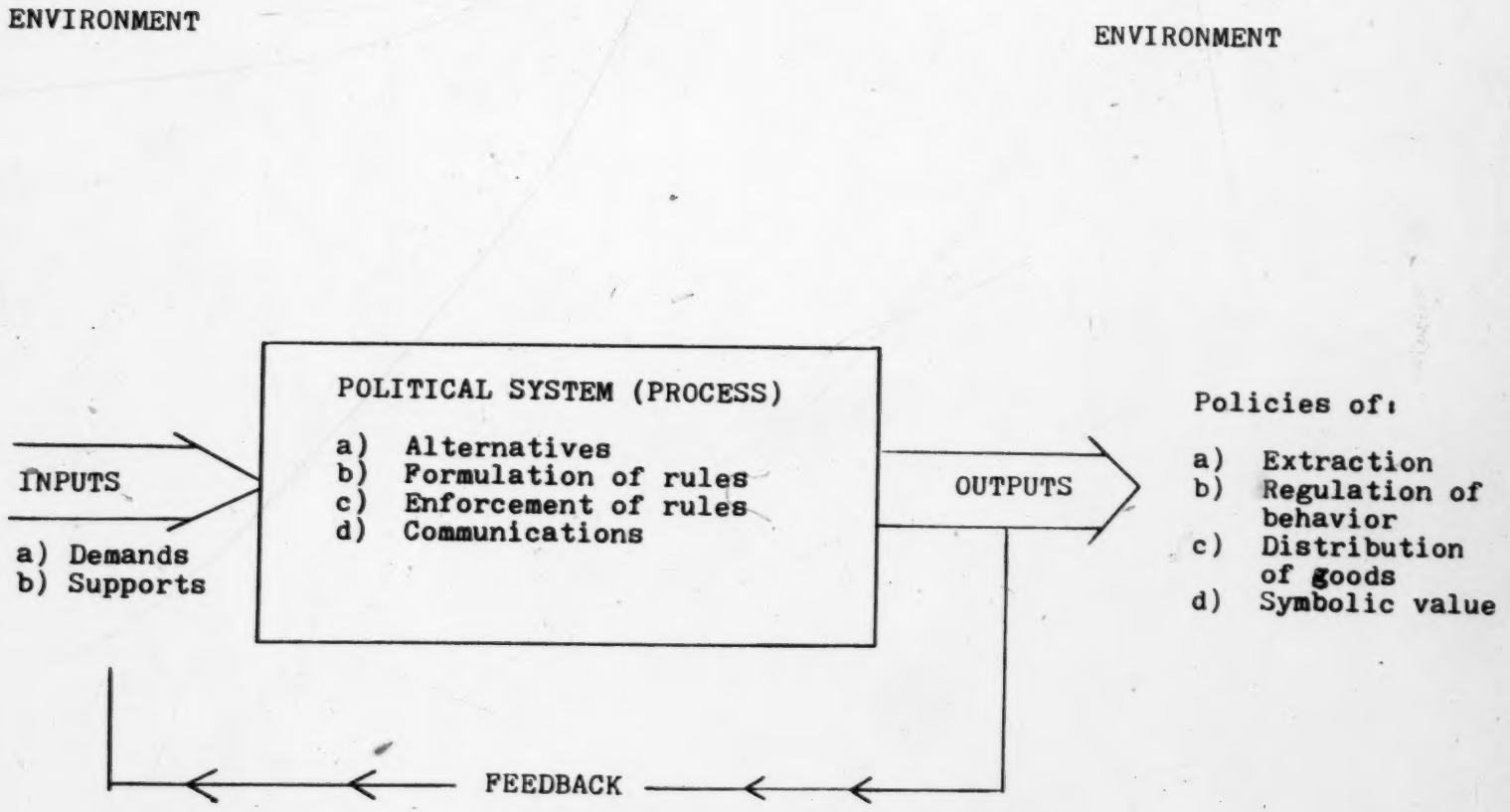


Figure 1: THE SYSTEMS MODEL

Group Theory: Policy as Group Equilibrium

The group model (Figure 2) assumes that policy decisions are arrived at as a result of conflict among competing interest groups. Individuals with common interests and values band together to press their claims upon other groups in the society and provide input to the political system. Politics is the struggle among groups to influence public policy. Thus bargaining, compromising and negotiation are at the heart of the policymaking process. The task of the policymakers is to manage group conflict by (1) establishing the rules of the game in the group struggle, (2) arranging compromises and balancing interests, (3) enacting compromises in the form of public policy and, (4) enforcing these compromises (Dye, 1981: 27).

According to the group theory, equilibrium is achieved in the group struggle with the formulation of a public policy decision by the political system that represents a binding decision to commit the various groups to a common set of goals and values and to a common policy action.

Pross (1976) identified a number of factors which tend to determine a pressure group's level of influence. These include acquaintances which provide access to policymakers, the group's reputation as to expertise, reliability, the existence of full-time staff, and writing of letters to the elected representatives. Gaining access to the policymakers and presenting the group's views to them is key if the

pressure group is to influence the policymaking process in the decision-making and implementation stages. Wirt (1970: 62) noted that the demands which enter the political system depend "in large measure on the preferences and power of those occupying gatekeeper positions within the system." The pressure group is only influential if their demands get by the gatekeepers to the policymakers.

The group model suggests the following research questions which help to give pertinent information on the levels of influence of competing groups and the means of leverage utilized by the more influential groups:

1. What individuals or groups influenced or attempted to influence the policy decision?
2. What motivated these individuals or groups to wish to influence the policy decision?
3. What were the major arguments advanced in favor of the policy decision? Against?
4. What was the nature of the political process involved in the formation of the policy?

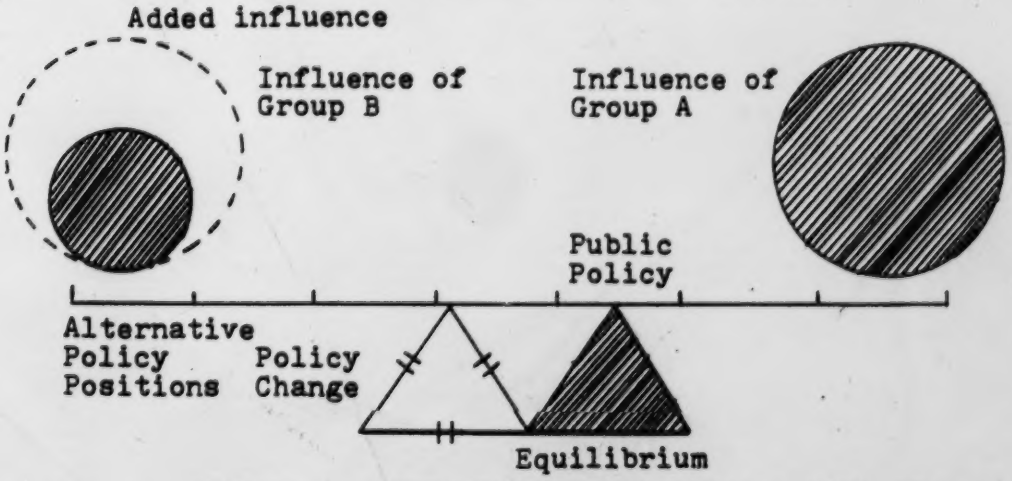


Figure 2: THE GROUP MODEL (Dye, 1981:27)

Elite Theory : Policy as Elite Preference

In contrast to the systems model, the elite model (Figure 3) goes counter to basic principles of democracy and views public policy as the result of the preferences and values of the governing elite. This theory suggests that the masses are apathetic and ill-informed and ready to leave decision-making to their elected representatives. The values and preferences of the elite determine public policies and shape mass opinion on policy questions.

Dye (1981: 29-30) summarized the key elements of the elite model in the following manner:

1. Society is divided into the few who have power and the many who do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy.

2. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socioeconomic strata of society. The few who govern are not typical of the masses who are governed.

3. The movement of nonelites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only nonelites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to the governing circles.

4. Elites share consensus in behalf of the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system.

5. Public policy does not reflect demands of masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.

6. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites.

In discussing the elite theory, Dye (1981: 30-31)

identified some immportant implications for policy analysis. This theory implies that change and innovation will only occur in public policy to the degree that elites redefine their own values. Likewise, changes in the nature of the system will only occur when events threaten the system. Elitism asserts that elites share in a consensus of the fundamental values of the social system, that elites agree on the basic "rules of the game", as well as on the continuation of the system itself. It is therefore advantageous to consider the positions taken by the decision-makers at the outset of the policymaking process, and the evolution of decision-makers in redefining their preferences within the value base of the political system.

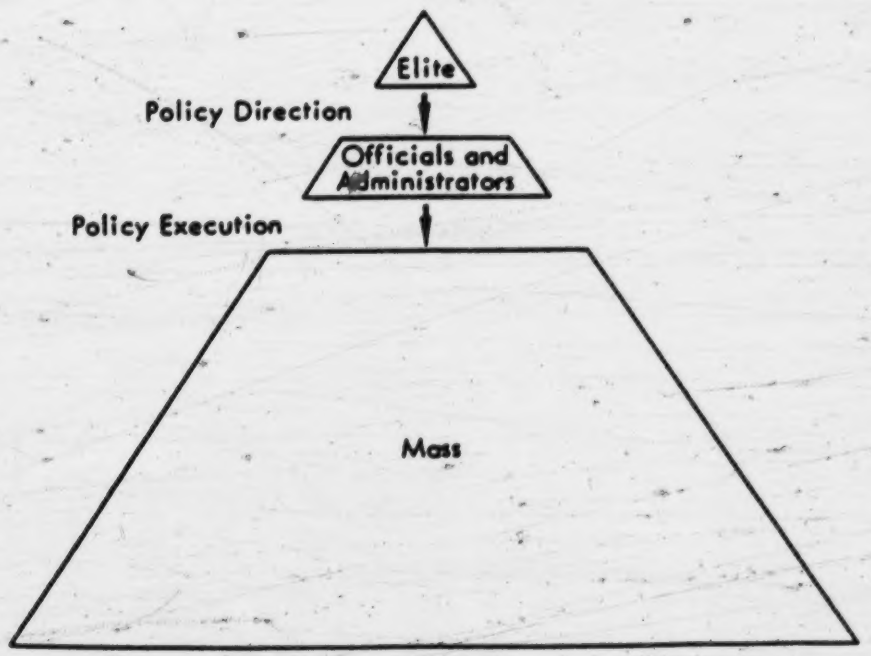


Figure 3: THE ELITE MODEL (Dye, 1981:29)

Rationalism: Policy as Efficient Goal Achievement

Dye (1981: 31) defined a rational policy as one that is correctly designed to maximize "net value achievement." the term "net value achievement" requires that "the relevant values of a society are known, that any sacrifice in one or more values that is required by a policy is more than compensated for by the attainment of other values."

For policymakers to select a rational policy, Dye suggested that they must:

1. know all the society's value preferences and their relative weights;
2. know all the policy alternatives available;
3. know all the consequences of each policy alternative; and,
4. select the most efficient policy alternative.

This rationality assumes that the value preferences of society as a whole can be known and weighted; that all the information about alternative policies can be obtained; that it is possible to forecast accurately the consequences of alternate policies; and, that intelligence is available to calculate correctly the ratio of costs to benefits. The rational theory requires a decision-making system that facilitates rationality in policy formation (Dye, 1981:32).

There are so many obstacles to rational decision-making in the strictest sense of the word that it rarely takes place at all in government. Rationality has been achieved if the "best" feasible policy alternative is selected within

the constraints placed on the political system. The rational model (Figure 4) remains useful for analytic purposes to assist the analyst in identifying barriers to rationality.

Questions which arise when considering the rational model are as follows:

1. What was the nature of the political process involved in the formation of this policy?

(a) What constraints to the policy decision were perceived by the policymakers to be operative at the time the policy was made?

(b) What group or individual communications with the policymakers influenced the decision made?

(c) What impact did the personal values and opinions of the policymakers have on the decision?

Institutionalism: Policy as Institutional Output

The perspective of policy as institutional output is based on the political science premise that "a policy does not become a public policy until it is adopted, implemented, and enforced by some governmental institution." The three distinctive traits which characterize governmental public policies were identified by Dye (1981:21). First, government lends legitimacy to policies and commands the compliance of citizens. Secondly, government public policies involve universality in that they extend to all people in society. Finally, only the government can impose coercion on violaters of its policy. Institutional characteristics can have important implications for the structured patterns

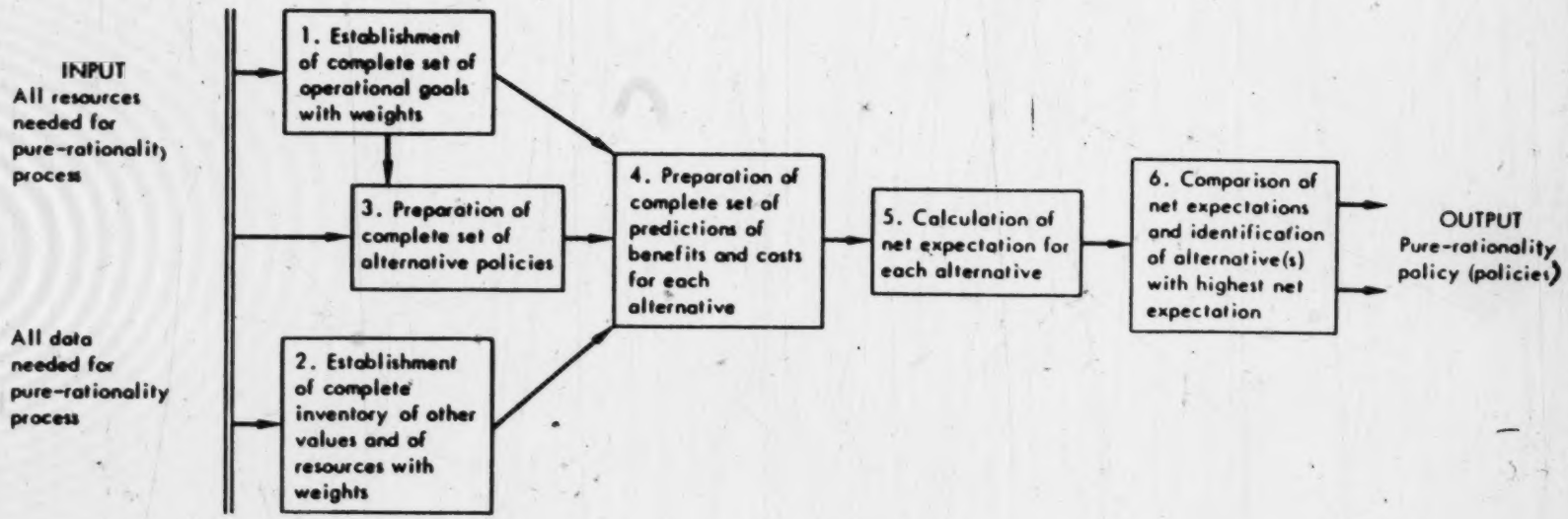

INPUT
All resources needed for pure-rationality process
All data needed for pure-rationality process
1. Establishment of complete set of operational goals with weights
2. Establishment of complete inventory of other values and of resources with weights
3. Preparation of complete set of alternative policies
4. Preparation of complete set of predictions of benefits and costs for each alternative
5. Calculation of net expectation for each alternative
6. Comparison of net expectations and identification of alternative(s) with highest net expectation
OUTPUT
Pure-rationality policy (policies)

Figure 4: THE RATIONAL MODEL

of behavior of individuals and groups and the content of public policy. Individuals within the structure may serve to facilitate or provide barriers to policy. These factors should be considered in the assessment of the effect of institutional structure on public policy (Dye, 1981: 23).

The institutional model suggests an investigation of the following questions:

1. Did political structures obstruct or facilitate individual or group attempts to influence the policy decision?

(a) What role was played by the superintendent of schools in this matter?

(b) What administrators had adopted positions on the issue?

(c) What policy position was taken by the School Board on the issue?

TOWARD A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Policy analysis, according to Dunn (1981:34-35), is essentially a discipline "which uses reason and evidence to clarify, appraise, and advocate solutions for public problems." By the use of multiple methods of inquiry, the decision-making process involving the creation and selection of policy alternatives is enhanced in such a way as to improve the basis for effective policy decision-making.

The basic process of policy analysis is one of inquiry which involves five policy-informational components -- policy problems, policy alternatives, policy actions, policy outcomes and policy performance which are transformed into

one another. Dunn (1981:48) stated that "(i)nformation and methods are linked in a dynamic process of change which involves policy-informational transformations."

Fischer (1980: 188-189) advised that the policy analysis process could be enhanced by an understanding of of politically relevant data. Relevant political information on the motives and goals of political actors, their beliefs and values, as well as their political resources can assist the policy analyst to define the political environment from which an issue arises in society. Of equal importance is a consideration of the channels for interaction between political actors, time constraints and rules for the political decision-making. The general political climate of the times and the relevant political context will influence the support for innovative alternatives in either a positive or negative direction.

Policymaking is a complex process that can best be understood by a consideration of the three phases identified by Dror (1968: 1960) in his development of an optimal model for public policymaking:

a) metapolicymaking, that is, policymaking on how to make policy;

b) policymaking in its usual sense, that is, making policy on substantive issues; and,

c) re-policymaking, that is, making changes in policy based on feedback from the executing of policies.

To provide a clear framework for analyzing policy

decision-making, Dror (1971: 63) identified twelve facets of a megapolicy or master policy that determine the "postures, assumptions, and main guidelines to be followed by specific policies." The ten facets which the researcher shall apply to the study include:

1. the establishment of overall goals or guidelines;
2. the boundaries within which the policy is to be confined;
3. the establishment of time preferences for the attainment of policy outputs;
4. the degree of risk to be accepted;
5. the choice between various degrees of change or innovation;
6. the degree of comprehensiveness or narrowness of the policy;
7. the degree to which the policy is directed at achieving given goals through a shock effect or coordinated change;
8. the consideration of alternative futures;
9. the availability of resources;
10. the range of available policy instruments.

Optimal or good policies require a systems perspective. A metapolicy establishes the overall goals, rules and the basic orientation for discrete policymaking situations. In this study, special attention will be devoted to the following phases of metapolicymaking: a) the processing of values, b) the processing of reality, c) the processing of problems, d) the surveying, processing, and developing of resources, and, e) the allocation of values and resources.

These understandings shall be incorporated into an integrated system framework to guide this policy analysis. The foundations of the framework are based on a systems perspective which views policymaking as a process by which inputs into the political system are converted into policy outputs. The systems framework for the analysis of public policymaking, as conceived by Bossetti (1973), attempts to integrate policy planning with policymaking. Bossetti adapted Amara's (1972) framework for policy research and used Almond and Powell's (1966) conceptualization of the operation of a political system. The framework is a combined model which serves to identify a number of variables associated with the policymaking processes and relationships among such variables as: 1) the social system, 2) inputs, 3) the conversion process, and 4) outputs.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the literature dealing with policy planning and decision-making processes. The major purpose of the models is to simplify and clarify thinking about governmental activities and politics, to help identify important aspects of policy problems, to communicate knowledge about political life, and to suggest explanations for public decision-making and its consequences (Dye, 1981: 19).

The inclusion of a variable or set of variables from each of the five constituent models suggested a number of questions to be addressed in conducting the study. These related to five basic areas: sources of input, levels of influence, gatekeeper structures, the political process, and consequences of the implementation of policy.

An integrated system framework is utilized to structure the study and guide the analysis of data relevant to the decision-making process for public policymaking in the Edmonton Catholic School District.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the research design of the study. An historical case study based on primary documentation validated by interviews with key actors in the policymaking process was undertaken from an intentional-interpretive approach. Methodological techniques are examined in terms of their impact on the validity and the reliability of the findings.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Webster (1973:103, cited in Brunner, 1982:116) explained that before the advent of policy sciences, researchers had traditionally relied on the "efficacy of the methods of natural sciences to explain social or psychological phenomena, [or] to solve pressing human problems." Empirical research has since then clarified the limitations of quantitative and rigorous methods in the study of social science problems. Brunner (1982:131) contended that "(t)he criterion of quantitative and rigorous methods does not guarantee dependable results because such methods tend to divert attention from differences and changes in context that affect the reliability of data, (and) theoretical consistency." He noted that "the complex higher-order interactions involving time and other factors"

frustrate the researcher who applies quantitative strategies to the study of social issues.

According to Brunner (1982: 124-125), the intentional-interpretive approach, with deep roots in the history of social sciences, is useful "as a means of reflecting on personal experience" by observers of the policy arena intent on exploring "the manifestation of complex, changing contexts." He advocated that policy research be problem-oriented and contextual so that attention is paid to the differing perspectives of actors and environmental factors and that judgments are based on a systematic, comprehensive search and assessment of the possibilities. Such exploratory methods, he stated, encourage the creative task of discovering new patterns and insights through participant observation and case studies. Campbell (1974b: 24-25, cited in Brunner, 1982: 129-130) observed that

> Acquaintance with events and persons, extended across time and settings provides the quantitative scientist with qualititative knowledge that enables him to catch misunderstandings, error and fraud in his data.

THE CASE STUDY METHOD

An intentional-interpretive approach to an historical case study was selected by the researcher to examine the educational policymaking process. The intention was to provide an analysis of school board decision-making processes in order to provide an understanding of how

educational policy is formulated and to gain a perspective on the present and future directions of educational policymaking at the local school board level.

The case study method was adopted by the researcher because it purveys "a more or less continuous picture through time of the experiences, social forces, and influences to which the unit has been subjected" (Fairchild (1962, cited in Stringham, 1974: 69). "By studying the past, the educational historian hopes to achieve better understanding of present institutions, practices and problems in education" stated Borg and Gall (1983:800).

The major limitations of the case study method from an historical perspective relate to the possible selective retention of relevant data in an institution's archives as well as to the possibility that records may have been subjected to errors of perception, memory, judgment and unconscious bias. The discovery of internal consistency in the records may offset concerns with the possibility of bias.

The use of primary sources raises the concern for validity and reliability. To determine the genuineness of the documents, the researcher examined the documents for their authenticity and critiqued the content and the meaning of the documents for internal consistency and reliability. The documents were subjected to content analysis for material relevant to the policy issue and to the policy

process identified and for material deemed essential to analysis within the conceptual frameworks of the policymaking process.

Limitations as to the possible selective retention of archival documents can also, in part, be overcomed by open ended interviews with relevant actors associated with the process under investigation. Interviews with key actors deemed to have been knowledgeable participants in the policymaking process were conducted to assist in the verification of the reliability of the documents. Interviewees identified as critical role-players assisted in clarifying the meaning of documentary materials by supplementing the written data with their lived experience.

DATA COLLECTION

The study was based primarily on a documentary search of relevant historical sources in the Edmonton Catholic School Board archives and of pertinent material in the files of the president of the Association canadienne-francaise de l´Alberta (ACFA) Ad Hoc Committee. Documents such as correspondence, reports, and newspaper clippings were also obtained from a number of respondents, the provincial ACFA, Alberta Education and the Edmonton Public Library.

Board Minutes and reports to the Board, committee Minutes and reports, legislative regulations, public statements, interest group publications and correspondence

were examined to identify the key actors and the critical activities in the policy process. The data was collected to construct an accurate chronology of the sequence of events that took place during the policy formulation process. The chronology (Appendix C) served as an organizing framework for the analysis of the policymaking process.

Content analysis of documents and assembly of the information was the main source of data for this study. Content analysis involved "coding, tabulating, and analyzing of existing data" to determine the time, frequency or duration of an event and to gather "more subjective information such as motives, attitudes, or values" (Eckhardt and Ermann, 1977: 298-299). Quantitative and qualitative content-analytic data provided a basis for inferences regarding trends, co-variability and causality.

INTERVIEWEE SELECTION

Gergen (1971) outlined a number of approaches for identifying the powerful or influential individuals involved in policy decisions. The leadership pool approach combines aspects of two other approaches known as the reputational and positional approaches. Steps in using the leadership pool approach include: (1) identifying the policy issue to be analyzed; (2) listing all individuals holding formal positions of authority in regards to the particular issue;

(3) conducting interviews with those listed; and, (4) asking them to identify key actors who played a part in the policy decision.

In this case study, a modified leadership pool approach was employed. Relevant files held by the Edmonton Catholic School District were examined to determine the individuals and the interest groups who had been key actors in the political process. In line with the positional approach, an initial list of those individuals who held formal positions of authority in various organizations concerned with the issue of French language education was drawn up. Interviews were subsequently conducted with key actors selected on the basis of their apparent involvement or association with the decision-making process.

Consequently, key people from the Department of Education, the Board of Trustees, Central Administration, and parents were interviewed to determine:

(1) the groups or individuals the interviewees felt influenced or attempted to influence the policy decision, as in the reputational approach;

(2) why these individuals attempted to influence the policy decision;

(3) what arguments were advanced for and against a change in policy; and,

(4) the vehicles of communication employed by these individuals and groups in attempting to influence the policy decision.

Appendix E lists the individuals who were interviewed, the date when they were interviewed, the position they

occupied when interviewed and when appropriate, the position they held when they were involved in the policy process.

INTERVIEW TECHNIQUE

During open-ended interviews, the interviewer followed an interview guide (Appendix E) which outlined the major areas of inquiry applicable to the study. While providing quite specific information, the guide, consisting of a number of specific yet open-ended questions, allowed for unanticipated responses which helped the researcher to probe more deeply and obtain more complete data (Borg and Gall, 1983:441). A semi-structured interview process was selected because the interview guide made it possible to confirm or validate data already gathered and to obtain supplementary data. All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed. The interview structure allowed the researcher to gather the required information in a reasonable period of time.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to explain the research design of this study. The basic methodology adopted was an historical case study from an intentional-interpretive approach. The techniques and constraints of the selected methodology were made explicit. By reviewing the research design of this study, the limitations and generalizability of the study's findings should be clearer and more useful to the reader.

CHAPTER IV

FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: CONTEXT OF THE POLICY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an historical context for the dynamics of termination, replacement and maintenance of policies and regulations on French language education in the Edmonton Catholic School system. The first section of this chapter examines the status of French language instruction in the district from 1888 to 1968. The second section of this chapter documents the 1970 - 1980 period when Ministerial regulations permitted a gradual increase in the use of French as a language of instruction for Grade 1 to 12 students enrolled in French language classes. The final section summarizes the factors which caused dissatisfaction with French language policies.

STATUS OF POLICY ON FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Research on School Board policymaking identified the lack of written policies as a condition which hinders effective school board operation (Tuttle, 1958). Since its establishment in 1888, the Edmonton Catholic School system apparently delivered French language education according to a series of unwritten policies based on tradition and provincial government regulations. A 1980 Status Report on Modern Languages in the school district indicated that,

> The only written policy # 503 (1970) which states that, "French may be used as a language of instruction in specific schools designated by the Board to the extent permitted by the regulations of Alberta Education did not adequately serve the interests of Modern language programs.

A major recommendation of the report was that the Board "review and expand its policy statements vis-a-vis language instruction in its schools" (Status Report on Modern Languages, 1980: March 17).

In a 1981 brief to the district Strategic Planning Committee Task Force, the system-wide Advisory Committee for the French Bilingual Program requested,

> That the School board adopt, as the basis for the development of general policy guidelines, a system of bilingual French education which will emphasize the need for equality of opportunity for all throughout all major regions of the city, equality of accessibility, a quality of instruction and a level of service equivalent to the regular English programs, and consistent and centralized coordination and articulation of the programs of study" (Brief to the Strategic Planning Committee Task Force, 1981: March 16).

The tone of this demand for the resolution of French language educational issues reflected the Edmonton Catholic community's support for Canadian bilingualism since the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1968. After the entrenchment of minority language educational rights in the Constitution Act, 1982, however, Francophones began to demand specific cultural and governance rights to minority language educational establishments.

AN OVERVIEW: 1888 - 1968

Given that provincial government regulations have guided the provision of French language instruction in the Edmonton Catholic School District, it is helpful to examine the history of regulations and practices which governed the provision of French language instruction prior to 1968.

Early History

Educational legislation in the Northwest Territories Ordinances, 1875 showed considerable flexibility in allowing the use of French as the language of instruction when the majority of the pupils were Francophone. In 1888, when Francophones comprised 60 percent of the population, French was the usual language of communication in Fort Edmonton. The demographic situation warranted the use of both English and French as languages of instruction in the first denominational schools established in Edmonton (Purvis, 1985: 16-23).

In 1892, the Legislative Assembly almost terminated the policy allowing the use of French in the schools of the Territories. The immigration of a majority of Anglophones and other ethnic people into the area influenced the Council of Public Instruction to determine that English be the only language of instruction used in schools and that French be permitted solely in a primary course. Commenting on our early history, Breton (1983: June) stated that

> Historically, nation building in its symbolic-cultural dimension was oriented toward the construction of a British-type society in Canada. The attempts by other groups such as the Ukrainians and the French to maintain their own language and culture ... seemed to threaten the British model of cultural unity sought for in this country. The children and grandchildren of immigrants were being progressively . . . (acculturated into a British Canada).

When the Department of Education was formed in 1901, government policy permitted the exclusive use of French only in Grade one, whereas in the higher grades, French was allowed in practice for approximately one hour each day.

Under Section 136, Chapter 29 of the Northwest Territories Ordinances, preserved by Section 17 of the Alberta Act, 1905, school boards had permission to "cause a primary course to be taught in the French language" and to hire competent persons to dispense this education to all students whose parents desired an education in a language other than English (Purvis, 1985: 19-20).

Since the early 1900s, the Edmonton Catholic School District's curriculum included a French Language program for French-speaking children although in 1904 such a program was limited to a "half-hour of French instruction".

> Section 136 of the School Act allowed instruction in French but it was so loosely permissive that boards could interpret it by inclination. Across the river at St. Anthony's, the principal was told to dispense with French, but availability of the second language was a policy of the Edmonton board and is shown by the record on teacher hiring (Cashman, 1977: 43, 61).

"A militant Francophone group, charging injustice by the separate school system" (Cashman, 1977:77), were the first petitioners to request French language instruction from the Edmonton Catholic School District # 7 in March, 1912 when amalgamation took place with Saint Anthony's Catholic School District # 12. Subsequently in 1925, a large Francophone delegation attended the school board meeting to hear debate on the motion "that the board institute a primary program in which the language of instruction would be in French," and "that the program be provided in separate and suitable quarters" (Cashman, 1977: 129-132). The school system's response was to offer French as a second language program for Francophone students in grades 1-9 within English schools located in or near Francophone communities. Discouraged by "the lack of reinforcement of the French language in the totally English ambience" of English schools, many Francophones opted out of French classes in the 1960s. The resulting decline in enrolments of French students caused the Board to discontinue French bilingual programs in a number of schools. According to a district Handbook on Bilingual Education Programs (1979: January), teachers then often lacked adequate pedagogical training and linguistic expertise in the teaching of French as a native language and in those settings, "the need for increased preparation time

and the added responsibilities for the coordination of the French program required of French teachers resulted in low morale."

Early Curriculum Development

Prior to 1970, the Alberta Department of Education did not provide direction for the coordination, development, diffusion and adoption of French language programs and materials for Francophone students. Evelyne Foex-Olson (in Silla, 1974:431-487) stated that from 1928 to 1968 l'Association des Educateurs Bilingues de l'Alberta (AEBA) functioned as the un-official Alberta Department of French language education. The Association assumed responsibility for the selection of French and Religion programs, the selection of textbooks and pedagogical materials, the professional development of bilingual teachers and the administration of provincial exams in the French language. The Edmonton Catholic School District cooperated with the AEBA in providing French language programs and supported the administration of the AEBA provincial exams until 1970 when the Alberta Department of Education assumed responsibility for the implementation of language education programs.

Meanwhile, Alberta French teachers sought recognition and assistance from The Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) to improve educational opportunities for students in French Bilingual programs. On March 7 1969, The ATA recognized the

need for the professional development of French language teachers and approved the formation of Le Conseil Français.

Changes in Regulations

> In 1952, the Department of Education reported that French instruction was given in eight districts: 100% of the time in the first grade, 50% of the time in the second grade and one hour per day from the third to the ninth grade (Bastarache, 1985: 12).

In 1964, Department of Education regulations changed the guidelines for French language instruction by permitting an expansion of programs in the first three grades. The Edmonton Catholic School Board gradually expanded the French program to allow French instruction all day in Grades one and two while respecting the compulsory hour of English instruction. In the third grade, the use of French was limited to three hours per day and one hour a day until the ninth grade.

Concerned about the termination of junior high French programs in a number of schools, parents appealed to the Board to encourage French language studies beyond the elementary school. In 1965, the School Board agreed to accomodate grade 7, 8 and 9 Francophone students in two centralized locations. Académie Assomption, a convent school opened by "les Soeurs de l'Assomption" in 1926, welcomed the girls and the boys enrolled in Collège Saint Jean, a private college operated by the Oblate Fathers since 1911.

CHANGES IN SOCIETAL VALUES: 1968 - 1980

The Department of Education gradually expanded its French language policies in response to a national concern for official bilingualism and biculturalism. Between 1968 and 1978, significant changes were initiated by the Ministerial approval of French language instruction for high school students and of increased French instructional time in all grades. These measures fostered a desire for parents of non-French speaking youngsters to enroll their children in French language programs.

In view of these important legislative changes, the Edmonton Catholic School Board sought and received input from numerous associations, parent groups and individuals in an effort to establish policies for the expansion of French language learning opportunities.

Approval of French Instruction at the Secondary Level

In 1968, an amendment to Section 368 of the former School Act officially recognized French language instruction for high school students. That year, the Edmonton Catholic School Board assumed responsibility for French language education at the secondary level. The district sponsored the studies of Grades 10, 11 and 12 students at Académie Assomption and at Collège St. Jean. Prior to that time, Francophone residents wishing to provide a French language education for their high school children had no choice but

to enroll them in private institutions as well as contributing property taxes to the separate school system (Cashman, 1977: 234).

After extensive consultation with the Edmonton Catholic community, the School Board decided to consolidate junior and senior high French programs in the first publicly funded bilingual secondary school in Alberta. In 1972, when J.H. Picard School opened its doors to junior and senior high school students, the teaching staff accepted responsibility for the development of curriculum and resource materials. French and English were generally the languages of instruction at the school on a 50-50 basis with proportions varying from 70% of the time devoted to French instruction in grade 7 and 30% in grade 12.

French Instruction for non-Francophones

Ministerial regulations (Regulation 287/70) permitted instruction from Grades three to twelve in French for up to fifty percent of regular instruction time. This revision allowed school boards to offer French as a language of instruction to any student within the district.

It was then that L'Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA) decided

> to push for the opening of immersion schools . . . at a time when we felt that without the help of the anglophones, we would never survive. Because French-language rights were not then guaranteed, it was essential to increase student enrolment to keep the bilingual schools open. The

> francophone community, lacking the legal right to demand a French-language education for their children, actually supported a process that did as much to destroy cultural identity as it did to preserve it, Cadrin emphasized. In opting for immersion classes, a "solution of desperation", ACFA opened schools traditionally attended by Franco-Albertans to anglophones who wanted to learn Canada's other official language (Laurence, "Francophone Struggle Continues," Western Catholic Reporter, 1986: September 1).

In 1970, the Board modified its admittance policy to Grade one bilingual classes to allow children with no previous experience in French to enroll in French Bilingual programs. The clientele expansion policy ruled that there be no requirement for any oral competency on the part of the pupil entering the program at the Grade I level. The access of non-Francophones to French language programs had been facilitated by a federal-provincial funding agreement to spur the teaching of the second official language and to ensure official language minority schooling in Alberta's bilingual education classes. Ministerial Regulation 287/70 confirmed the School Board's decision to allow non-French speaking youngsters to register in French immersion programs.

Curriculum Development for Bilingual Education

Until 1970, instruction in the French language had been extremely limited and varied from school to school according to the training and competence of the staff and the availability of appropriate teaching materials.

In 1970, the Department of Education appointed Dr. Lamoureux Associate Director for Languages with the responsibility to facilitate the implementation of all second language learning and Section 150 of the newly adopted School Act (Personal Interview, Lamoureux, 1986: July 28). The government gradually recognized the need to assist school boards by providing consultancy and curricular services to jurisdictions offering second language or Modern Languages instruction. In 1979, the Department of Education established the Languages Services Branch.

The School Board continued to provide professional development for its French language teachers while relying on the Department to assume responsibility for the translation of existing programs of studies. District educators also cooperated with the Department of Education in developing course materials in the French language.

District Goals and Objectives in Bilingual Education

In striving to provide students with opportunities to become competent bilingual citizens, administrators informed the Board of Trustees that French language curricula was

> fragmented and characterized by a lack of sequence in content, lack of articulation among the elementary, junior high and senior high school levels, a lack of clearly defined goals for each of these levels and a lack of grade objectives (A Proposal for Developing and Implementing Goals and Objectives in French Language Instruction," O'Hara, 1974: March 29).

Deputy-Superintendent O'Hara advised the Board of Trustees

that "if a French language program is to be offered in an efficient, economic manner ensuring good results then steps must be taken to improve and strengthen the curriculum." The rationale for advocating curriculum development for improved French Language programs in 1974 focused on

> the French Language needs of Anglophones in grades 1 to 12 in all of our schools through the designing and implementation of curricula in two programs:
>
> a) The French as a Second Language Program - Grades 4-12, and
>
> b) French as a Language of Instruction - Grades 1-6.
>
> A sequential Canadian curriculum for French language instruction has been needed for many years and . . . students interested in learning French . . . should be able to achieve an adequate degree of fluency if they begin in Grade 4 and complete bilinguality if they begin in Grade 1.

At that time, enrolment statistics indicated the number of Francophone and Anglophone students in each of the elementary grades. 563 Francophone and 235 Anglophone students were enrolled in the Grandin, Notre Dame de Lourdes and St. Thomas Aquinas elementary schools in 1974. These schools offered

> two instructional programs - one basically for Francophones and the other for Anglophones. Enrolled in the second program were non-French speaking children, some of whom had attended French kindergarten and others with no knowledge of French prior to entering Grade one (O'Hara, 1974: March 29).

To respond more effectively to the educational needs of children in these programs, the Board approved the administrative recommendation that

> Saint Thomas Aquinas be recognized as a bilingual school and that the regular program for English-speaking students be phased out, and that Anglophone students who have not attended French kindergarten be admitted to Grade 1 in only one school: Grandin (Board Minutes, 1974: April 16).

The directive aimed at a recognition of the differing needs of French and French immersion clienteles was eventually abandoned because it did not meet with compliance by administrators who hesitated to refuse admittance to neighborhood elementary students.

Meanwhile, administrators advised the Board to maintain "bilingual enrolments by emphasizing a French kindergarten program, accepting larger numbers of Anglophones into the program and accepting non-resident students in higher grades" (O'Hara, 1974: April 11).

A Report on French Language Education presented to the Board of Trustees in April 1974 highlighted the rationale for bilingual education, a review of the development of programs for French-speaking students and the development of bilingual schools within the Edmonton Catholic School System. The Report stated that,

> The principal aims of bilingual education in the system were,
>
> a) to make students equally fluent in both English and French, and
>
> b) to give students an equal understanding and appreciation of their English and French heritages.

Trustees were informed that in order to "equalize the

opportunities for students" to be in contact with language and culture, the bilingual school

> strives to use French as the language of communication among students, teachers and other staff members and between students and staff. This deliberate cultivation of a "French atmosphere" does not mean that French is being overemphasized at the expense of English; . . . the cultivation of a French atmosphere is seen as a most important means to attain the aims of bilingual education (Report on French Language Education, O'Hara, 1974, April 16).

Given the philosophy of French language education within the school district and the administrative perception that English was taught through a process of "acculturation", a researcher investigating assimilation amongst Franco-Albertans who had attended bilingual schools claimed that

> Aucune considération particulière ne semble être prévue pour la survie linguistico-culturelle du groupe francophone à travers l'école bilingue telle qu'elle existe actuellement (Silla, 1974: 363).

To remedy the lack of adequate curricula for French as a Second Language and French as a language of instruction and to improve the French as a Second Language Program, the Board approved participation in a project for French Curriculum Development funded by the Provincial and Federal Governments.

Need for a Consultative Mechanism

The inclusion of secondary bilingual studies and the presence of non-Francophone students in French language

programs accentuated the dilemma faced by the Board of Trustees in meeting the diverse expectations of the community for French language education. An administrator commented that

> The aspirations of these different groups of parents varies from a desire that the instructional program be one hundred percent French to the desire that the school provide all the educational opportunities in English that are available in all Separate schools in addition to the French program designed to enable their youngsters to speak French fluently. The problem of meeting the needs of the community is closely allied to the problem of curriculum objectives arising from a detailed examination of the needs of pupils, parents and society" (Report on French Language Education, O'Hara, 1974: April 11).

The Board was encouraged to set up an Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education to assist Trustees and administrators in identifying the needs of students in French Bilingual programs. A System-Wide Advisory Committee for Bilingual Education was created in November, 1975 to maintain liaison with the community and assist Trustees in the development of French language policy. The Committee's mandate was

> a. to serve in an advisory capacity to the Board on matters pertaining to the French Bilingual Program,
>
> b) to formulate recommendations on matters of policy,
>
> c) to act as a communication forum for receiving advice and,
>
> d) to communicate the aims and objectives of the French Bilingual Program within the community. (Constitution, 1980: June 24)

This structure for consultation at the grassroots level

achieved a high rate of effectiveness in influencing policy decisions. By 1981, the Board of Trustees had adopted 61% of the recommendations referred to them by the Committee, 24% were pending a decision and 15% had been deferred. The committee was perceived to serve

> as a useful mechanism in communication, problem-solving and the sharing of common goals as they pertain to the improvement of bilingual French programs in the Edmonton Catholic School District. . . a positive force in bringing to the attention of trustees, administrators and government officials the common concerns of bilingual programs. It had a proud record of proposing reasonable alternatives to problematic situations. It has been an excellent vehicle for informing the general public about the endeavors of the school system in the area of modern languages programs. More importantly, it has communicated to parents that the school board has an interest in receiving on-going input from its stakeholders by providing a conciliatory mechanism in an area that is deemed politically sensitive (A Profile in Parental Involvement, Robert and Laplante, 1981: March).

Increased Demands

Supported by the Bilateral Protocol for funding of Official Languages education, the Board of Trustees was able to meet the high costs for the development and implementation of French language programs. With the Department of Education's support for curriculum work, Superintendent Dr. MacNeil (1976: April 28) did not consider the costs of maintaining the program greatly in excess of regular instruction in English schools.

In 1976, a number of parents met with the superintendent to discuss the feasibility of increasing the

amount of time devoted to French instruction. These parents wanted the Board to support a request to the Minister of Education for an amendment to the regulations limiting French instruction to half of each school day. In his Memorandum to Trustees on the possibility of increasing the maximum time for instruction in French, the superintendent claimed that

> The original (1968) regulations . . . were really intended for Francophone children who came to school speaking very little or no English and this regulation was to ensure that they learned some English. This situation does not exist today. Experience has indicated that there is little danger that the schools in the program would be moving to 100 percent instruction in French although they could have this as a target. Courses in French do not now exist in all areas (MacNeil, 1976: April 28).

The Board was informed that recent federal-provincial funding guidelines supporting the figure of over 75 percent instruction time in French would entitle the Board to a 50 % increase in the Federal Language Grant. On May 3, 1976, Trustee Picard made the motion that

> the Minister of Education be requested to amend Alberta Regulation 287-70, the French Language Regulations, to allow French to be used as the language of instruction to a maximum of one hundred percent of instructional time for each school day (Board Minutes, 1976: May 3).

This proposal was adopted with the concurrence of all but two Trustees who objected to the removal of the compulsory study of English. Minister of Education Koziak approved Regulation 250/76 which allowed the Trustees to increase French instructional time in bilingual programs to

approximately 80 percent of the school day (MacNeil, 1976: November 9). An administrative report outlined the stipulations which maintained minimum hours of English language instruction in all grades (Board Minutes, 1976: November 11).

CONSIDERATION OF FUTURE DIRECTIONS

At the October 20, 1976 meeting of the System-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education, the superintendent outlined Board concerns in meeting the needs of bilingual schools. Trustees, he stated, were faced with demands from communities requesting bilingual classes in strategic areas of the city. He added that transportation problems were onerous in a time of limited financial resources and that increased enrolment at the elementary level necessitated long-range planning for secondary education facilities.

In view of these concerns, the superintendent established a French Bilingual Sub-committee in November 1976 to consider possible locations of schools offering bilingual French programs in the future and to recommend an organized plan whereby the bilingual French program might be offered to all children within the system. One of the issues to be addressed by this sub-committee was: "To what extent should we strive for unilingual schools?". The administration mailed bilingual questionnaires to a

representative sample of 25% of the parents of the 690 bilingual school children enrolled in K-6 or approximately 175 families and interviews were set up with principals and school advisory councils in February.

A number of conclusions derived from the survey results (Bilingual Schools: A Preliminary Survey, 1977: December 1) are significant to the case study:

> Parents (66%) were overwhelmingly in agreement that bilingual schools in the system provided a valuable challenge to the educational program of their youngsters.
>
> Parents placed a high premium on developing functional fluency in the French language at as early an age as possible.

One fourth of the respondents indicated that bilingual education, as a right, was an extremely or very important reason for enrolling a child in a bilingual school. "Learning French is a good intellectual discipline," and "a needed challenge for top-notch students" were other top motivators.

Perceived Discrepancies

Francophones were sensitive to threats to their survival as a culturally viable group as evidenced by the following comments received during the survey. The community valued the French bilingual programs because

> It is a heritage for our children, a gift they can cherish, a language their ancestors spoke.
>
> We accept bilingualism as a fact of life in Canada.

> Parce que le bilinguisme français-anglais au Canada renforce l'unité nationale et fait de nous de meilleurs citoyens canadiens.
>
> Parce que nous sommes français et nous luttons contre l'assimilation de nos enfants.

Administrators who authored the report emphasized that,

> Parents of Francophone background fear the overwhelming threat to their child's cultural identity through assimilation. This concern is frequently expressed and is not easily overlooked. Language learning cannot be disassociated from its proper cultural context. Research has shown that francophone children, because theirs is the language of a minority group, actually do better in English language arts at a later date if they have first learned to read and write in their mother tongue.

Dissatisfied with the constraints placed upon Francophone children in French immersion settings, parent respondents suggested the following desirable outcomes:

> Les écoles bilingues devront être divisé en deux groupes, écoles françaises et écoles d'immersion en français pour anglophones, avec différent local.
>
> Je crois qu'une école unilingue avec des professeurs vraiment engagés est la seule solution.

The strategy of alternate schooling opportunities in unilingual French settings does not appear to have been warranted or supported by the findings of the Advisory Committee for the French Bilingual Program. No measures were proposed to alleviate expressed dissatisfaction with the French language program.

Stategies for Expansion

In recommending support for an expansionist strategy to maintain the existing language program structures, administrators observed that

> though there was an increased interest in bilingual classes, the committee felt that efforts should be undertaken to reach more Francophones and Francophiles and inform them of the educational services offered in French within the school district (Bilingual Schools - A Preliminary Survey, 1977: December 1).

A February 1978 Report on Bilingual Programs ascertained that an expansionist policy for the provision of bilingual classes had been implemented. Statistics indicated that 1,550 students were enrolled at St. Stanislaus, Father Leo Green, Lady of Lourdes, Grandin, St. Thomas d'Aquin and at J. H. Picard schools. The percentage increase in students enrolled in the French Bilingual Program from 1972 to 1977, with a significant increase of 19.8% in 1974, confirmed the popularity of French Bilingual programs. French immersion programs based on a curriculum adapted to students learning French as a second language were introduced into all schools in the system in 1977. Due to the policy allowing open admittance to French language programs, enrolment figures had risen from 1127 in 1972 to 1559 in 1977 and district statisticians no longer differentiated between Francophone and Anglophone students enrolled in French elementary language programs.

By 1978, Edmonton Catholic Schools had 20% of the

provincial total of 8,121 students enrolled in classes where French was the language of instruction according to section 150 (1) (a) of the School Act. With one third of the French Bilingual program students in attendance at the J.H. Picard secondary High School, it became evident to the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education that "enhancement and renovation measures" were needed to accommodate the increased enrolments. Administrators involved in French language education requested that the Board sanction "a detailed study of the nature and potential of the bilingual program in Ecole J. H. Picard and its feeder schools with a view to determining trends and possible future trends and possible future practices and developments (Bilingual Schools Report, 1978: February 20).

However, in the fall, the Board was advised by the superintendent that, although there had been an increase of enrolment of students in bilingual programs from 1211 students in 1968 to 1652 in 1978 (Table I), "the growth was not substantial enough to indicate stability." He assured the trustees that, despite the unpredictable enrolment trends, programs in Bilingual Education continued to be reviewed and revised to achieve the major objective of the bilingual school - to offer up to 80% instruction in the French language (MacNeil, 1978: November 12).

TABLE I

STATISTICAL ENROLMENT in EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOLS' BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS: 1967 -1984

	Kindergarten	Elementary	Junior	Senior	Total
1967 - 68		605	351	*191	1147
1968 - 69		715	309	187	1211
1969 - 70		718	308	189	1215
1970 - 71		699	309	201	1209
1971 - 72		704	295	180	1179
1972 - 73**	63	643	304	207	1217
1973 - 74	70	724	311	244	1349
1974 - 75	141	723	335	274	1473
1975 - 76	186	747	334	287	1554
1976 - 77	148	759	358	318	1583
1977 - 78	169	809	359	296	1633
1978 - 79	159	863	351	276	1649
1979 - 80	191	1160	339	286	1976
1980 - 81	254	1086	332	302	1974
1981 - 82	261	1157	376	312	2106
1982 - 83	248	1202	396	270	2116
1983 - 84	269	1173	377	229	2048

* The District began sponsoring Senior High French education

** Non-Francophones admitted to French language programs

Source: Annual Statistics of Enrolment
Edmonton Catholic School District

Review of Bilingual Education Services

In April 1979, the Board reviewed a comprehensive evaluation report from the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education entitled Bilingual Education Policies and Services - A Review. Based on their findings, administrators were seeking approval for submission of a five year developmental and assessment plan on bilingual programs to the Languages Services Branch due to the fact that,

> The present program and support systems have been operational since September 1971. As we approach a ten-year span of experience, it now appears essential to reconsider our original Edmonton Catholic School District objectives and seek certain refinements and adjustments (Bilingual Education Policies and Services - A Review, O Hara, 1979: April 12).

From 1973 to 1980, enrolments in the elementary French Bilingual (immersion) language programs had grown from 794 to 1,160 or 46% (Table I) and the number of elementary bilingual regional centres had doubled (Table II). While elementary enrolments had decreased overall in the Edmonton Catholic School District, the French bilingual enrolments had grown steadily by an average annual net growth of approximately 4.5%. Distance and transportation factors were considered major concerns affecting student accessibility to such programs (Status Report on Modern Languages, 1980: March 17).

TABLE II

FRENCH LANGUAGE PROGRAMS in EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Schools	Years	Grades
FCJ Convent School	1888 - ?	
Saint Anthony	April 1895 -?	Grades 1-6
Saint Francis	1905 - 1966	
Sacred Heart	1914 - 1965	Grades 1-9
	1965 - 1973	Grades 1-6
Grandin	1914 - 1965	Grades 1-9
	1965 -	Grades 1-6
Saint Edmund	1934 - 1969	Grades 1-9
Saint Thomas Aquinas	1949 - 1961	Grades 1-9
	1949 - 1984	Grades 1-6
Our Lady of Lourdes	1954 - 1983	Grades 1-6
Saint Luke	1955 - 1966	Grades 7-9
Holy Cross	1967 - 1971	
	1983 -	Grades K-8
Académie Assomption	1965 - 1972	Grades 7-9
	1967 - 1972	Grades 10-12
Collège Saint Jean	1965 - 1972	Grades 7-9
	1967 - 1972	Grades 10-12
J. H. Picard	1972 - 1984	Grades 7-12
Saint Matthew	1974	K
Father Leo Green	1978 -	K-6
Saint Stanislaus	1978 -	K-6
Saint Elizabeth	1980 - 1982	K-1
Frere Antoine	1982 -	K-8

Source: Edmonton Catholic School District Records

The Executive Summary of the Status Report (1980) informed the trustees, administrators, teachers and the general public of success in language programs and addressed issues and concerns arising from the

> ten-year period of tremendous growth and change because in 1972 non-French speaking students had been admitted into the (Bilingual French) program now called French immersion. Since 1973, Bilingual French enrolments had shown marked increases representing an average annual net growth of approximately 4.5%. The Bilingual French Programs were displaying a high retention rate.
>
> Until 1977, our French reading program was geared mainly to French speaking children. We adapted some second language teaching techniques with non-French speaking children. For the past three years, we have been using a French Reading and Language Arts program developed precisely for French and non-French speaking children in a French immersion program intended for Ontario, the Western and Maritime provinces.

Program Needs for Target Groups

Because more elementary students were coming from non-French speaking homes and students were arriving from Quebec, a request was made that policy # 503 be reviewed by the Board of Trustees "to reflect the present situation" and address the emerging concerns that

> Many native French speaking students are not sufficiently challenged in the French program. We seem to have focused all our attention and efforts over the past 8-10 years on children learning French as their second language. Are we producing competent, fluent bilingual students? It is our aim to focus greater attention in the future in better meeting the needs and challenging the French native students whose parents still maintain high standards of language and culture in the home (Status Report on Modern Languages, 1980).

On June 9, 1980, the Board debated and approved a number of recommendations arising from the Modern Languages Report. Superintendent Dr. Brosseau advised the Board that Policy # 503 (1970) stating that "French may be used as a language of instruction in specific schools designated by the Board to the extent permitted by the regulations of Alberta Education" should be revised and expanded. He recommended that the following policy be adopted:

> The Board will provide all students with the opportunity to obtain a level of fluency and proficiency in the English language consistent with their abilities.
>
> Within the defined limits of available human and economic resources as well as those regulations pertaining to public education in Alberta, the Board may provide opportunities for study in modern languages. These opportunities will be designed to assist students in gaining a level of fluency and proficiency in at least one modern language (Brosseau Memo, 1980: May 28).

In view of the on-going Constitutional debate on the educational rights of official language minority groups, Trustee Gibeau moved to defer this policy decision until after the First Ministers' Conference in September 1980.

SUMMARY

Historically, the Government of Alberta had allowed the dispensation of French instruction in the province as a privilege subject to the consent of local school authorities. In effect, the Edmonton Catholic School Board had used its discretionary authority to support the use of

French as a language of instruction since 1888. The Edmonton Catholic School District responsively maintained and replaced policies which encouraged the teaching of French either as a means to acquire linguistic skills or to attain functional bilingualism during the 1970s. During the last decade, federally sponsored programs aimed at bilingualism for all Canadians had resulted in increased demands and expansion of clienteles in French language programs.

The historical context from which arose the policy problem has been included in this study because policy problems are as much a product of past events as they are a function of future expectations. In 1982, two conditions existed which help to explain the basis for a demand for change in French language education.

First, Francophones had observed the gradual semi-lingualism attained by French speaking children integrated into immersion programs with non-Francophone students. The concept of French immersion had been welcomed by Francophones in the hopes of ensuring sufficient numbers to maintain French language education. The number of elementary schools offering French immersion programs had doubled during the previous decade and by 1982 approximately two thirds of the students came from unilingual non-Francophone backgrounds. Residents accepted the fact that the school system should promote bilingualism without

questioning the need for differentiated teaching strategies for native and second language students. Given the popularity and success of French immersion education in an English environment, the crucial issues of the appropriateness of the curriculum for the intended beneficiaries and the suitability of the goals to the needs of the clienteles appear to have been gradually ignored.

Secondly, a significant change in the Canadian Constitution was instrumental in bringing about the request for an alternate French Minority Language program. Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms had enshrined the right of minority language parents to demand a French language education for their children. After almost a century of permissive language legislation in Alberta, federal legislation now mandated the adoption of policies respecting the constitutional rights of Francophone parents at the local school board level.

It was within this context that the new concept of French language education for the minority group was conceived. It was claimed that French language schools had the potential to ensure the cultural survival of the French minority group in an English milieu by meeting the unique educational needs of native French students. It was also claimed that French immersion schools should be responsive to the needs of non-Francophone students desirous of attaining functional bilingualism.

CHAPTER V

THE POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS

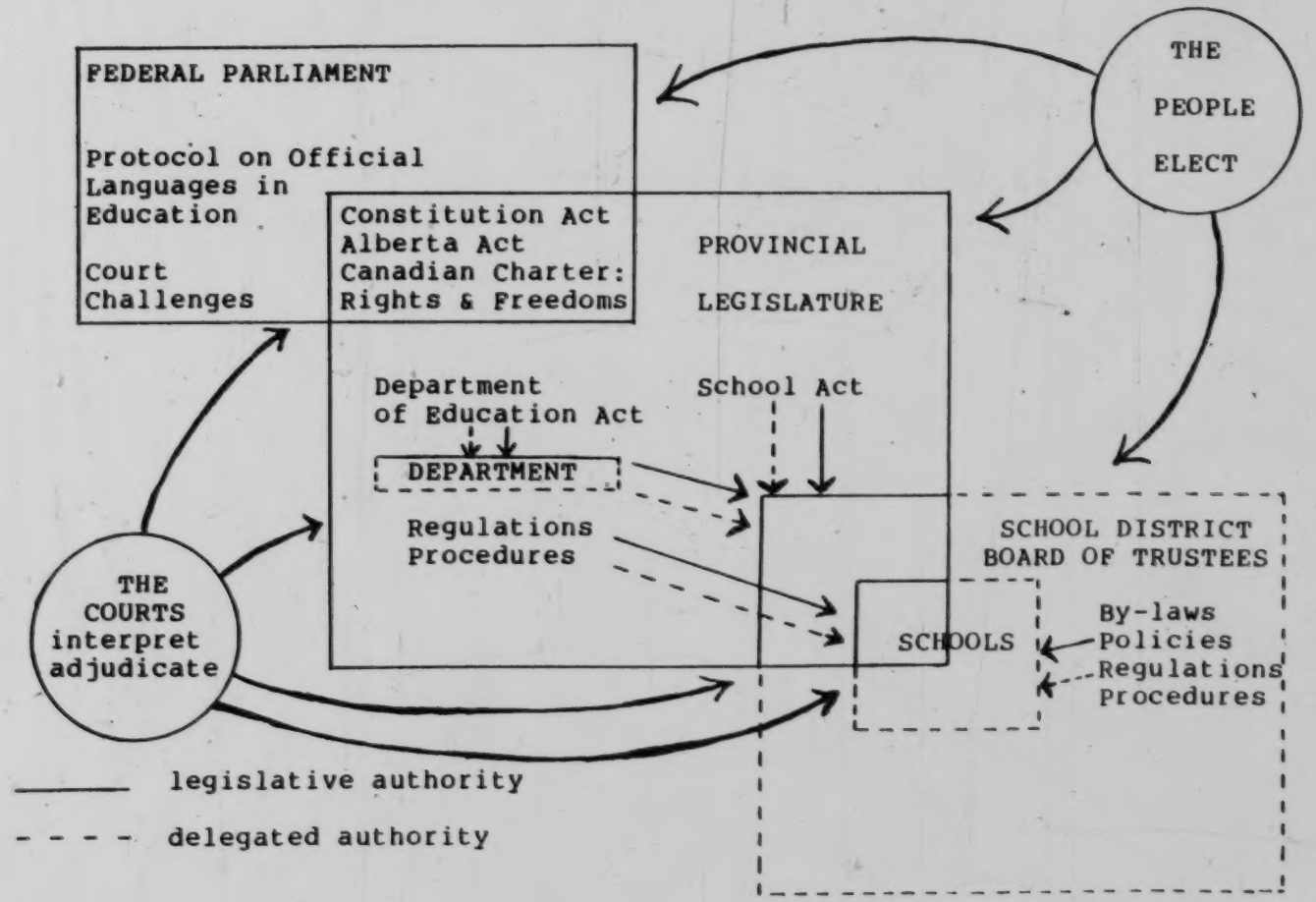
This chapter provides an overview of the processes involved in the decision to establish an official minority language elementary school and to adopt the Edmonton Catholic School Board's Language Policy # 403. The description and explanation of the decision-making process serve as an organizational framework for the analysis of the policymaking process provided in chapter seven.

BACKGROUND TO THE FORMULATION OF THE LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY

Alberta has been a leader in accommodating the aspirations of cultural and ethnic groups within the public school system and was one of the few provinces to officially recognize the multicultural character of Canada in the School Act, 1970. Sections 11, 27 and 159 allowed boards discretionary authority to provide instruction in languages other than English to all students.

The Constitution Act, 1867, the Northwest Territories Ordinances, 1901, the Alberta Act, 1905, the School Act, 1970 and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982 (Charter) provide the constitutional and legal framework for denominational and minority language educational rights and privileges (Figure 5). Whereas provincial statutes may not

Figure 5: ILLUSTRATION OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS IN OFFICIAL LANGUAGES EDUCATION



abrogate denominational education rights granted in 1867, the Charter supercedes and takes precedence over all provincial legislation in dealing with the rights to minority language education (Purvis, 1985:9). By entrenching specific minority linguistic educational rights (Appendix B), the federal parliament enacted constitutional changes which affected and altered provincial jurisdiction in education. School districts were now obligated to provide minority language education "where numbers warrant" to the extent that these rights were limited to that which is "demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society" (Anderson, 1983:11).

Because of their delegated authority, trustees relied on the provincial government to define the implementation of Charter principles for the province of Alberta. However, interpretation of the legality of the constitutional claims for minority language education in the province was set back by litigation between L´Association Georges et Julia Bugnet and the Province in the Alberta Court of Queen´s Bench. Meanwhile, trustees were responsible for judging the wisdom and feasibility of demands for minority language education within the zone of acceptability of the supporters of locally elected school boards.

DEMAND FOR A MINORITY FRENCH LANGUAGE SCHOOL

After consultation with Minister of Education Dave King and officials of Alberta Education who directed the parent committee "to work within existing school boards", L'Association Georges et Julia Bugnet submitted a proposal for an alternative French school to the chief superintendent of the Edmonton Catholic School District. In July 1982, the Societe Bugnet parent committee met with the superintendent of Program Services to explore the feasibility of their demand and to receive advice on the presentation of their proposal to the Board of Trustees.

On December 6, 1982, these Francophone parents made a formal request to the Edmonton Catholic School Board to consider the adoption of a proposal for the establishment of an alternative French language school. These parents, though not committed to the Catholic faith as a class of persons, were desirous of sending their children to a French school guided by a unique philosophy devoted to Christian morality and the arts in a totally French "ambience". In a "private" French school under the umbrella of the school board, the Societe Bugnet demanded control of the philosophy of the school, the curriculum, entrance criteria and the selection of administrative and teaching personnel (Proposal for the initial phase of "l'Ecole francaise a Edmonton, 1982: December 6).

Assessing the Need for Change

Unwilling to compromise the school district's denominational mandate or to delegate traditional and legal school board responsibilities guaranteed by the Constitution Act, 1867, the Alberta Act, 1905 and the School Act, 1970, the Trustees rejected the Bugnet proposal. Conscious of the rising expectations of the Franco-Albertan community, the Board chose to re-examine French language programs in the light of entrenched Charter rights to minority language education and the collective well-being of the school district. The Board directed the administration to examine the possibility of establishing an alternative French program within the system (Board Minutes, 1983: January 17). Extensive consultation was carried out with various stakeholders within the school district to determine whether an alternative French program was educationally feasible and desirable and whether the district had the human, material and financial resources to provide such services.

Investigation and Testing of Values

Before the provision of minority language educational services was initiated by the Edmonton Catholic School Board, an investigation was conducted among residents of the Edmonton Catholic School District to assess the potential gap between what the community at large expected and what

actually existed. The Board wanted to investigate the potential issues that had to be addressed if a French minority language alternative program or school was to be established.

First a review was undertaken of the intent of statements of policy and legislation for providing instruction in languages other than English in Alberta. At the 18th Annual Premiers' Conference in New Brunswick, Canadian Premiers had issued a Statement in which they announced their agreement "that they will make their best efforts to provide instruction in education in English and French wherever numbers warrant" (Statement of Language, St. Andrews Premiers' Conference, 1977: August 19).

On February 24, 1978, Premier Lougheed along with all Canadian Premiers reaffirmed

> their intention to make their best efforts to provide education to their English and French speaking minorities, and in order to ensure appropriate levels of services, they also agree that the following principles should govern the availability of, as well as the accessibility to, such services:
>
> (i) Each child of the French-speaking or English-speaking minority is entitled to an education in his or her language in the primary or secondary schools in each province wherever numbers warrant.
>
> (ii) It is understood, due to the exclusive jurisdiction of provincial governments in the field of education, and due also to wide cultural and demographic differences, that the implementation of the foregoing principle would be defined by each province (Premiers' Declaration on Minority Language Education,

1978: February 23)".

In Regulation 490/82, Alberta Education gave school boards directing principles authorizing instruction in the French language according to Sections 27, 28 and 159 of the School Act which allowed them the discretion to determine the appropriate number of students for successful implementation of a program to satisfy the needs of the local community. No formal distinction had been made between Anglophone and Francophone pupils desirous of access to French language programs as indicated by the Minister of Education's intervention in the Legislature:

> Mr. Speaker, since the Premier participated in an accord at St. Andrew's New Brunswick, in 1978, the policy of the government has been that this government would provide French language education to any student, whether Francophone or Anglophone, where numbers warrant, and always remembering that it would be at the option of the parent and the child. That is the policy. Program activity in the province demonstrates that we have been very, very successful in pursuing that policy (King, Hansard, 1983: October 27).

Secondly, the French Language School Task Force attempted to gain a perspective of the perceptions of "residents of the Edmonton Catholic School District" and their views on the need for change if the "educational and cultural needs of Francophone students" were not being met in the existing Immersion Programs.

Consequently, in March and April 1983, stakeholders such as the System-Wide Parent Advisory Committee for Bilingual Education, Parent Advisory Committees of all

French immersion schools, principals, teachers and all parents of students enrolled in the elementary French immersion programs were consulted to determine their views on the need for change in the French language programs. Input was received from external agencies and individuals including Alberta Education, l'Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA), les Agents de la Pastorale Francophone d'Edmonton, la Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec (FFHQ) and leaders of the French community.

Wheareas divergent opinions were expressed on the need to establish a French school within the school district, there was general sympathy for the needs of the French speaking students at the primary level. The preliminary survey indicated a consensus

> that the Immersion schools as they operate in the Edmonton Catholic School district are extremely effective for both anglophone students and Francophone students whose first and/or dominant language is English
>
> (and that) the French Immersion Program offered in grades Kindergarten to grade 3 do not appear to be appropriate for children who entered school with a fluency in the French language. (French Language School Task Force Report, 1983: June).

The third step in the investigation was the examination of the curriculum and organizational structures. In the light of existing research literature on language education, Language Arts District Supervisors concluded that the French Language Arts program "did not adequately meet the academic needs of the Francophone children." The specialists advised

that the resource material was deemed to address the needs of students whose first language was not French, that certain courses had not been translated or adapted for instruction in French and that French cultural activities needed to be "emphasized and integrated in the total school program." The Task Force members recommended that curriculum development was warranted to adapt course content to the academic, linguistic and interest levels of native French-speaking elementary students. Should a French language school be allocated, it was proposed that the criteria for student admission should "remain flexible and allow for linguistic proficiency" while recognizing rights inherent in section 23 of the Charter.

At this stage, administrators were unable to assess the ramifications on existing immersion programs if human and material resources were re-allocated. However, they deemed that appropriate staffing requirements, support services and library services were available within the district. In view of district revenues and expenditures for French Bilingual education (Table 3), they observed that cost implications would depend on the adoption of a policy decision to establish a French school or to create homogeneous "streams" in existing Immersion schools. Based on a comprehensive analysis of the policy issue, the Task Force advocated alternatives for French immersion, French Language and Bilingual schooling to the Board of Trustees.

TABLE III

EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

SUMMARY OF FRENCH BILINGUAL REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES BY SCHOOL

1982

	J.H. PICARD	OUR LADY OF LOURDES	FR. LEO GREEN	ST. ELIZABETH FRERE ANTOINE	FRANDIN	ST. THOMAS AQUINAS	ST. STANISLAUS	TOTAL
Direct School Revenues	$1 872 837	$ 845 562	$ 858 452	$ 156 044 X 208 845 +	$ 571 901	$1 037 004	$ 683 504	$ 6 234 149
Unallocated District Revenues @ $76.55 F.T.E	47 614	20 362	19 826	17 147	13 396	24 266	15 616	158 227
TOTAL REVENUE - FRENCH	$1 920 451	$ 865 924	$ 878 278	$ 382 036	585 297	$1 061 270	$ 699 120	$ 6 392 376
Substitute Services	24 757	8 979	7 086	4 794	9 134	14 527	6 980	76 237
Direct School Expenditures	1 526 479	564 257	604 738	170 994	609 074	765 907	558 120	4 914 113
Unapproved Debenture Costs	24 750		6 673	114 544 20 000*		1 340		56 763
Per Pupil Share of System Expenditures @ $147.83 F.T.E.	91 952	39 323	38 288	33 114	25 870	46 862	30 157	305 566
Transportation	122 413	(21 793)	(3 155)	(5 775)	(34 785)	(46 511)	(19 013)	(8 619)
Unallocated District Expenditures @ $519.86 F.T.E.	323 353	136 283	134 644	116 449	90 975	164 795	108 051	1 074 550
Direct Program Costs	20 640	2 150	5 700	4 545	574	700	1 880	36 199
TOTAL EXPENDITURES - FRENCH	$ 2 134 344	$ 731 199	$ 793 954	$ 458 665	$ 700 842	$ 947 620	$ 684 185	$ 6 450 809
EXCESS OF EXPENDITURES OVER REVENUE	$ 213 893	$ (134 725)	$ (84 324)	$ 76 629	$ 115 545	$(113 650)	$ (14 935)	$ 58 433

X Revenue for Jan-June @ 6/10
\+ Revenue for Sept-Dec @ 4/10
* Cost for Sept.-Dec.

Supports for a Change in Policy

On June 6 1983, an Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA) Ad Hoc Committee presented a brief to the Board along with a petition signed by 1045 residents formally requesting that a French school be established for minority language Francophone children. In the brief, the pressure group presented a number of warrants for the demand which included the historical claim that

> the very first schools in Alberta were French schools. In all other Canadian Provinces, French schools have emerged. Here in Edmonton in spite of a population of 23,000 Francophones, there is a persistent doubt about the need to establish such a school. . . . the Separate School Board of Edmonton has assumed a leadership role which needs to be emphasized. But the fact remains, Franco Albertans still do not have their own schools . . .
>
> For want of a better alternative Francophone parents must entrust their children to the same schools which are designed for Anglophones. It has been proven . . . that such schools far from helping Francophones improve their language or even preserve it, constitute . . . a veritable source of assimilation. In fact, the rate of assimilation of Franco-Albertans has once again risen to more that 51% . . .
>
> . . . it is neither the French courses nor the courses taught in French that give it its value and its uniqueness, but the atmosphere and the French culture which must permeate its structure, its management, its programmes, its personnel.
>
> The School Boards must, however, recognize the laws of the country, and more particularly the new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which has created new obligations for all the Canadian Provinces to guarantee to minorities of either official languages educational institutions in their own individual languages (ACFA Brief, 1983: June 6).

ADOPTION OF THE FRENCH SCHOOL CONCEPT

The Board of Trustees agreed that the findings of the French Language Task Force constituted a reasonable and fair assessment of the educational needs of students in French language programs and reflected the general consensus of the Catholic community on opportunities for language education within the district. On that basis, the trustees unanimously adopted the policy motion

> That the recommendations contained in the report be referred to the Superintendent for further study and that a subsequent report for action be presented to the Board of Trustees in the Fall of 1983.
>
> That the Administration begin planning for the opening of a French Language School, grades kindergarten to six, in September 1984, subject to the enrolment guidelines that currently exist at the school system level (Board Minutes, 1983: June 20).

During the planning phase for the establishment of the French language school, the school board received and reviewed phone calls, letters, briefs and committee reports from residents who supported and opposed the allocation of distinct facilities for minority language education within the school district. This feedback proved to be critical to a review of the district's language policy.

THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS IN THE PLANNING OF THE MINORITY LANGUAGE SCHOOL

In pursuing its policy # 105 of developing "policies, guidelines and programs in consultation with those who are

most affected" by change, the Board adopted a consultative approach in developing the concept of the minority language school. In a letter to a Language consultant for Advanced Education, the superintendent of program services indicated that it was the administration's intention "to involve the (potential) parents of children who will enroll in the school as well as members of the professional teaching staff currently employed in the district in the planning and development of the school" (Acheson, 1983: June 22).

The French School Committee

The ACFA Ad Hoc Committee had lobbied the Trustees to institute a mechanism for direct participation by parents in defining the purpose and direction of French language education within the school district. To broaden the input beyond that of existing advisory structures and to determine Francophone perceptions on the critical issues, concerns, and expectations for French language education, the Board directed the chief superintendent to "establish a committee to recommend the most suitable site for the French Language School" and "criteria for entrance into the school" (Board Minutes, 1983: September 19).

Recommendations for the site and criteria for admission proposed by the superintendent's French School Committee were received as information by the Board in November subject to consultation with the System-Wide Committee on

Bilingual Education (Board Minutes, 1983: November 21).

Although the proposed recommendations had met with the approval of the Francophone community at a meeting organized by the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee on October 26, 1983 ("Les parents veulent l'école Picard," Le Franco, 1983: November 2), dialogue had not been initiated with stakeholders in the school system.

The Saint Thomas Parent Advisory Committee

The Saint Thomas Parent Advisory Committee saw the need to inform their parents of the Superintendent's French School Committee's proposals for the site and admission criteria. At the time, members of the advisory committee included five French school advocates led by a French Immersion proponent. A meeting was convened on December 1, 1983 to inform parents of the French school philosophy. The agenda included a presentation of the School Board decisions and of the Francophone School Committee's recommendations on the site and criteria for admission which would directly affect the Saint Thomas school community. To guide discussion on the French School Committee's proposals, brief exposés on the characteristics of French immersion and French programs were presented by Faculté St. Jean language professors.

A report on the meeting (McMahon, 1983: December 5) indicated that, although Francophone parents requested more

information on the criteria for admission, they appeared to be unanimously in favor of the recommendations of the French School Committee. Francophones also favored the inclusion of Grades 7 and 8 in a totally French school and anticipated the extension of French schooling to the high school level. French immersion parents voiced opposition to the concept of linguistic and cultural segregation. These parents selected lawyer Mr. Willis to represent their views and opinions to the Board and to lead a lobby to compel the Board to honour the 1981 decision to relocate the Saint Thomas Aquinas school to the J.H. Picard facility.

System-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education

Members of the system-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education advised the administration that a balance had to be provided between what Francophone and non-Francophone parents, educators and residents at large wanted, needed and expected from the Edmonton Catholic School District. There was a great concern that the needs of the non-Francophone students might be adversely affected by the redistribution of resources.

Clarification of Proposed Objectives

Administrators convened a meeting of major stakeholders in response to the November 21, 1983 Board motion "to review the overall impact of such a change upon the parent and student communities of the immersion and Francophone school

programs." The French School committee and the executive of the system-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education considered the pros and cons of the recommendations for the site and admission criteria. A negotiated compromise achieved by the stakeholders indicated a substantial consensus on the philosophy of the French school (Memorandum on the Proposed Francophone School, Laplante and Robert, 1983, December 15). There was agreement on "the need to establish two separate and distinctive self-contained units for housing the immersion and Francophone programs." The joint committee requested "that St. Tnomas Aquinas school remain as the designated K-6 immersion program site for the east and southeast area of the district pending a review in 1985." As "a precondition to parental commitment to either program," it was requested that a statement on the transportation policy for the French language centres be communicated by the Board.

To maintain "a strong and up-to-date communication program with its stakeholders," a meeting with Principals of district French immersion schools was also convened to consider the admission criteria (Memo, Robert, Hanak, and Laplante, 1983: December 15). Members of the French School Committee and of the Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education met with district administrators "to explain and clarify issues resulting from the decision to establish a Francophone school."

Negative Feedback

A formal petition from 110 of the 212 families served by St. Thomas Aquinas School was tendered to the Board of Trustees on December 19, 1983. Although accepting of the rationale for French language schooling, the parents had signed a petition (Willis, 1983: December 13) requesting the co-habitation of Francophone and French immersion programs in the J.H. Picard school facility in September.

Parameters of the Consultative Process

After the June decision to initiate plans for the implementation of the French school concept, a consultative process had been instituted to verify the views and expectations of parents demanding French language education for their children within the school system.

The first phase of the planning process began with the establishment of an advisory committee to the chief superintendent to review political issues relating to site location and admission criteria. Based on discussion by Committee members informed by input obtained from the Francophone community, criteria were established for determining the ideal location for a French language school and principles were suggested for applying the spirit of the Section 23 of the Charter to criteria for admission to the French language school. The recommendations submitted for policy consideration to the Board of Trustees had, on the

initiative of the ACFA Ad hoc Committee, been approved by the Francophone community in a public assembly.

The second phase of the planning process involved dialogue on the Committee's recommendations with stakeholder groups and administrators within the district. This was a phase which elicited both positive and negative feedback in the form of personal contacts, phone calls, letters and a petition on the proposed direction for French language education in the district. The information influenced the Board's acceptance of allocative and regulatory policy actions at the December 19, 1983 public meeting.

ALLOCATIVE AND REGULATORY POLICIES

The policy-relevant information received from the Task Force Committee, from the French School Committee and from interest groups and individuals had been the object of careful consideration at Board conference meetings. On the basis of the educational and political rationales for policy change, the trustees judged that the best possible solution to the issue was to establish a French school within a distinct facility. Individual trustees, however, had varying opinions on the acceptability of the criteria proposed by the French School Committee. In any event, convinced by the feedback from various stakeholders and confident in the resource base of the district, the Board adopted the following allocative and regulatory policies at the December

19 meeting:

1. That should numbers warrant, J.H. Picard be the location of the (Kindergarten to Grade 6) French language school.

2. That the Board motion of 1983 02 07 requiring the relocation of St. Thomas Aquinas School to J.H. Picard and the subsequent closure of St. Thomas Aquinas be rescinded.

3. That grade 7 and 8 continue to be offered at J.H. Picard and that the criteria for entry of these two grades not be changed from the present entry criteria. This motion to be reviewed annually.

After lengthy public debate, including an unprecedented recess for an in-camera meeting, an amendment which would have made linguistic competence part of the entrance criteria was withdrawn and the Board approved the following motion

4. That the criteria for entry to the French Language School meet the requirements and the spirit of Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms from the Canada Constitution Act.

Continued consultation with the Francophone community, the main interest group, was deemed to be desirable by the Trustees who directed that,

> District administrators as well as the French program administrators continue to receive input from the Board's Ad hoc Committee (the French School Committee) regarding the establishment of a properly elected committee to serve as an ongoing advisory board to this school and to this board (Board Minutes, 1983: December 19).

These critical allocative and regulatory decisions, although not framed in a policy statement, directed the

administration to undertake policy actions which were later incorporated into the district's language policy.

COMMUNICATION OF THE POLICY DECISION

The next phase involved communication of the Board decisions to interested parents in order to rationalize the decision to allocate the J. H. Picard facility to the new French school. In February 1984, the area superintendent, the supervisor of curriculum and the designated principal conducted public information sessions with the parents of all elementary French immersion students to acquaint them with the unique goals, objectives and clienteles to be served in the French school. Registration procedures for the French Language Program were discussed with the parents and concerns on program expectations were clarified by the administrators. The Edmonton Catholic School District also undertook a publicity campaign which included the placing of advertisements in local newspapers, interviews with the designate principal on various radio stations and distribution of an information bulletin to all the parents of children attending elementary French immersion schools. Preliminary registrations were sought prior to March 14, 1983, to enable administrators to determine, within system guidelines, the number of students which would support the choice of the J.H. Picard site for the French school.

Spill-over Effects

Allocative policy changes which affect the distribution of public resources often elicit a wave of resentment in the community. Concern for the allocation of facilities in an equitable manner had, as discussed above, aroused resentment from the French immersion parents within the Saint Thomas Aquinas school community. Negative impacts were also perceived by parents and teachers of the J.H. Picard school community and by stakeholders of the Academic Occupational Program at Saint Mary's School.

When the administration confirmed that student enrolment in the French language school was sufficient to warrant its location in the J.H. Picard facility, the Board confirmed the location and relocated the Academic Occupational Program (Board Minutes, 1984: May 7).

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

If one accepted the premise that minority language education within the Catholic school system was a legally mandated right and should be provided to enable Francophone students to take pride in their ethnic identity, to become better Canadian citizens and to acquire the knowledge and capabilities to influence the society of the future, then the following issues should have been addressed in the formulation of a policy statement:

1) What changes in the present system should be made to respond to the needs of Franco-Albertans?

2) What structures should be put into place to facilitate meeting these identified needs and the legally mandated rights of Franco-Albertans?

3) Are the outcomes politically feasible and valued by the Edmonton Catholic community?

Policy # 503, drafted on September 1 1983, prior to feedback from the intended beneficiaries of minority rights, appears to have been an inadequate response to the above considerations. The suggested policy stated that,

> A language other than English may be used as a language of instruction in specific schools designated by the Board to the extent permitted by the regulations of Alberta Education and as approved by the Board.
>
> Second language programs may be provided to assist students in attaining fluency and proficiency in a language other than English.

By failing to recognize the Charter rights of French language minority students, this statement differed little from the motion tabled by the Board in June 1980. Because the policy was not officially ratified by the Board of Trustees, there was no public reaction to the content of this policy statement.

On October 29, 1985, the administration approved a revised language policy statement which reflected the educational aspirations of parents having children learning French as a mother tongue or as a second language. With feedback from the French School Committee and the support of legal interpretations of the Charter by Judge Purvis (Jean Claude Mahé, Angéline Martel, Paul Dubé, and L'Association

de L'école Georges et Julia Bugnet v. Her Majesty the Queen in Right of the Province of Alberta, 1985), Policy # 403 reflected entrenched Official Minority Language rights.

When the Government of Alberta adopted a new Multicultural Policy in 1985, revisions were proposed to recognize heritage language education in Policy # 403. Six years after the tabling of a Modern Language Policy in June 1980, a language policy was officially approved by the trustees at a public Board meeting on February 3, 1986.

DISTRICT LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY STATEMENT

The 1986 policy statement on language education in the Edmonton Catholic School District is the result of pressures brought to bear on the Board of Trustees to provide minority language education according to Section 23 of the Charter (1982). The policy analysis and the policy planning phases of decision-making involved input to gauge the perceived levels of dissatisfaction and the stated educational priorities of stakeholder groups, the general public, the educational community, and Alberta Education.

The retrospective policy statement ensures that the needs of all children are met within the district and that students from minority language homes and children of all ethno-cultural backgrounds are provided with the necessary skills, attitudes and knowledge to become confident, self-reliant and productive members of society.

The policy statement approved by the Board of Trustees recognizes a distinction between French instructional programs for first and second language students. Policy # 403 (1986) states that,

> The two official languages of Canada may be used as a language of instruction in the Edmonton Catholic Schools and that minority language schools/programs will be designated by the Board.
>
> A heritage language, other than English or French, may be used as a language of instruction in schools designated and approved by the Edmonton Catholic School District.
>
> Core language programs will be provided to assist students in attaining proficiency in either of the official and/or heritage languages.

Guidelines which direct implementation of the policy for French as a language of instruction indicate that, in the Edmonton Catholic School District,

> The language of instruction will be in either of the official languages.
>
> The Board will be responsible for designating schools where French will be the language of instruction.
>
> In French Language Schools, English Language Arts will be offered in compliance with Alberta Education.
>
> The Board will strive to provide the human and material resources necessary to achieve the objectives of the language program.

The Edmonton Catholic School District's Language Policy # 403 emerging from allocative and regulatory Board policies for the delivery of language education is the master policy

or megapolicy which should provide the framework for the direction of future discretionary policy decisions.

Language Policy # 403 is now consistent with the identified views and expectations of resident Francophones and of non-Francophones who desire instruction in French and in other languages for their children. It respects Policy # 100, the district's Mission Statement, which strives to develop the spiritual, intellectual, emotional, physical and social development of students and to provide them with the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for the future. Finally, the policy is feasible within the existing Catholic school system and within the system of education in Alberta.

The lengthy process involved in recognizing the Francophone community's demands was a necessary part of school board decision-making to ensure the political feasibility of the policy and to ensure that it was congruent with the views and expectations of the residents of the Edmonton Catholic community and with their value system. In essence then, the policy statement approved on October 29, 1985 and officially adopted in a revised format on February 3, 1986 confirmed the discussion, debate and revision (Table IV) by members of the Catholic community at large, members of the Francophone community and their various interest groups, district administrators, Trustees, Alberta Education, the Minister of Education and the Federal Parliament.

TABLE IV

The Political Dimension of the Consultative Process Employed in the Formulation of District French Language Policy

PUBLIC	EXPERTISE	QUASI POLITICAL	PURE POLITICAL
Survey	Task Force	Superintendent's French School Committee	Board of Trustees
Forums	Research		Minister of Education
Briefs	Alberta Education		Federal Parliament
Petitions			
News media			

SUMMARY

This chapter provided an overview of the policymaking process involved in the decision to establish a French language school within the Edmonton Catholic School District. It began by examining the factors motivating the demand for minority language educational services. Secondly, it gave a chronological account of the consultative and bureaucratic processes that culminated in the adoption of allocative and regulatory policies which guided the formulation of Language Policy # 403. The decision-making process provides the organizational framework for the detailed analysis of the process in chapter seven.

CHAPTER VI

POLICYMAKING ON FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION: ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter contains an analysis of the data collected to examine the political process which characterized decision-making in the Edmonton Catholic School Board's consideration of the issue of French language education for minority language students. Five major questions were posed to guide the researcher in analyzing the policymaking process which took place between December 1982 and February 1986. Each of the five major questions on sources of input, levels of influence, gatekeeper structures, the nature of the political process and consequences of policy decisions is addressed individually.

BACKGROUND TO THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Whereas Trustees are "responsible for establishing the goals and objectives of education and adopting appropriate policies to attain them," Edmonton Catholic School District Policy # 105 indicates that decision-making in the school system should be done in consultation with those who are most affected by "decisions directed to the achievement of the goals and objectives of the school system."

Consequently, the Board established a French Language School Task Force Committee mandated to conduct a survey of

French language programs in the school district and obtain the views and expectations of all the major stakeholders. Members of the French Language School Task Force were professional educators who had a broad range of experience in language education at the elementary level. The Task Force under the Chairmanship of Dr. John Acheson, Superintendent of Program Services, included:

Dr. Catherine Garvey, Supervisor of Elementary Education;

Mrs. Lucie Ray, Supervisor of Bilingual Education;

Mr. Edmond Levasseur, Supervisor of Modern Languages;

Mr. George Robert, Supervisor of Curriculum; and

Mr. Noël Gour, Special Project Teacher.

In conducting the investigation, the Task Force members were to provide advice to the Board on four key questions as the framework for their research and the Task Force's report:

1) What was the level of interest in an alternative French language program among residents of the school district?

2) Were the educational and cultural needs of Francophone students currently being met in the existing Immersion programs?

3) What were the implications of establishing an alternative French language program as it related to the just allocation of district human and material resources?

4) What were the implications in terms of compliance with Alberta Education regulations and the obligations of section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms?

The Task force collected data on the views and expectations of stakeholder groups of the school district by means of questionnaires to parents of all students enrolled in the elementary French immersion programs, and consultative sessions with parent Advisory Committees of French immersion schools, principals and teachers of various elementary schools and the System-Wide Parent Advisory Committee for Bilingual Education. Submissions in the form of letters, reports, briefs, petitions, and telephone calls from individuals and stakeholding groups were also received and reviewed.

The Task Force members examined the curricular, the organizational and the financial implications of various alternative solutions for French schooling within the Edmonton Catholic School District. The administrators sought clarification of Alberta Education's policies and regulations for providing instruction in languages other than English and for responding to the obligations of Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Charter).

In summation, the French Language School Task Force was conducted by a group of administrators whose express purpose was to provide the Board of Trustees with assistance in assessing the views and expectations of Edmonton Catholic residents and in providing residents with an opportunity to let their demands and aspirations be voiced to the decision-makers. The task had been to re-evaluate the

delivery of French language education in order to better respond to the educational needs of students enrolled in French language programs and to accommodate the demands and challenges evolving from the Charter. On the basis of the data and information which were gathered, the French Language School Task Force recommended alternative policy actions to provide appropriate programs of study for all French language students within the district.

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCHER'S DATA

The purpose of this chapter was to report an analysis of the perceptions of stakeholders, administrators and decision-makers on the political decision-making process to establish a school for French minority language students and to adopt a new language policy consistent with the aspirations of all parents with children in French language programs in the Edmonton Catholic School District.

SOURCES OF INFLUENCE

The first major area of investigation deals with the following considerations:

What individuals or groups influenced or attempted to influence the policy decision?

(a) What motivated these individuals or groups to wish to influence the policy decision?

(b) What were the major arguments advanced in favor of a French language school? Against?

(c) What vehicles of communication were employed by these individuals and groups?

To provide opportunities for a broad input from its various publics, the Edmonton Catholic School Board had invited all resident stakeholders to become involved in the discussion. Freeman (1984: 25,34) identified stakeholders as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the firm's objectives." He advocated stakeholder involvement because "strategic planning is inherently connected with setting some direction for the organization, based on an analysis of organizational capabilities and environmental opportunities and threats." In public policymaking, it is important to develop measures of satisfaction for stakeholding groups whose support is necessary for the adoption and successful implementation of policy. It becomes important, as well as strategic, to assess the views and expectations of key stakeholder groups to ensure that the proposed policy falls within their zone of acceptability and will consequently merit their continued

support. The consultation process may then be viewed as an intelligence gathering mechanism that can assist organizations to predict more accurately the environmental opportunities and threats which should be addressed by proposed policy changes.

Several individuals and interest groups directly or indirectly influenced or attempted to influence the policy decision and its implementation. The study was delimited to nine key influential stakeholder groups involved in the political process between January 1983 to February 1986. During the policy analysis stage, these groups included the System-Wide Parent Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education, Parent Advisory Committees of French immersion schools, district educators, L'Association Canadienne française de l'Alberta, Les Agents de la Pastorale Francophone d'Edmonton and La Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec (FFHQ). Influential groups during the policy planning phase included the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee, the Saint Thomas Aquinas French Immersion Parents and parents from J.H. Picard School and St. Mary's Academic Occupational Program.

System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education

A review of the Minutes of the System-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education (1975-1982) did not reveal support for the establishment of a unilingual French school

in the past. When the Bugnet proposal for an alternate French school was made in 1982, the Board did not receive any support for the concept from the district advisory committee. Subsequently, the Board requested input from the Committee on the strategy to be employed in conducting the French Language School Task Force's study and reaction to the study's administrative recommendations prior to public debate.

Members of the system-wide committee generally accepted the concept of a French School but expressed diverse opinions and apprehensions on the nature of such a school, the criteria for determining the student clientele, and on the process for the equitable allocation of facilities and personnel. Their main objective was to ensure quality programming in all French language classes (French Language School Task Force Report, 1983: 2).

Parent Advisory Committees of French Immersion Schools

The French Language School Task Force consulted with members of the parent advisory committees of all French immersion elementary schools. Administrators discovered general sympathy for the needs of French-speaking students at the primary level and received suggestions that these needs be accommodated by "streaming" French and French immersion students within existing schools. Given the general perception that the establishment of a French school

"would have a detrimental effect on the existing Immersion Schools," no strong support for the concept was voiced at the parent advisory level. Whereas three parent groups strongly opposed the establishment of a French school, the St. Thomas Aquinas Parent Advisory Committee was the only group to support the concept if the school were located in their school facility (French Language School Task Force Report, 1983: 5-7).

District Educators

To obtain the perceptions of educators at the elementary level within the district, the Task Force committee consulted with the teaching staffs of five English schools selected at random and of the French immersion schools. General opposition to the alternative school concept was expressed by the majority of teachers from the English schools. Although they admitted that they "did not feel qualified to comment on questions regarding Francophones whose first language is French," they perceived "that the establishment of a French school would have a detrimental effect on the existing French immersion schools" and would cause segregation.

Francophone educators who were interviewed by the researcher had been fearful that input from teachers without classroom experience in French language classrooms would threaten Francophone claims for a distinctive program.

The majority of teachers from French immersion schools were generally in favor of establishing a French Language school because they deemed that the existing programs did not meet the educational needs of Francophone students whose first language is French. Concerned with the impact of immersion programs on French-speaking students, they were prepared to consider a new alternative which would enhance student performance according to the needs of the students. The possibility of change motivated many to voice personal and professional concerns for the status implications which might result in the establishment of an alternate program. Many feared that immersion programs would be viewed as offering an inferior program or that the opening of a new school for Francophones would be viewed as elitist (French Language School Task Force Report, 1983: 7-8).

French teachers, as a professional group within the district, had not submitted a written submission on this policy issue to the School Board. Nor did a documentary search reveal evidence of the tabling of an official position on the issue with the Joint Advisory Committee on Policy by the district teachers' ATA Local.

However, respondents indicated that a number of French language teachers, particularly teachers with school-aged children, had assumed leadership in alerting Francophone parents of the the dangers of cultural assimilation. Concerned teachers became actively involved in the ACFA's

presentation of political demands to the Board of Trustees. A public brief submitted to the Board in June, 1983 was presented by a teacher from the bilingual high school.

In summation, within-district involvement of teachers in the policy formulation process was primarily limited to a dialogue of selected teaching staffs with the Task Force committee. There is no evidence that teachers attempted to influence the policy issue in any formal manner within district structures. A number of teachers acted as advocates for change in active collaboration with the French community's Ad Hoc Committee.

L'Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA)

The ACFA has historically been an advocate for Francophones since 1925; it has successfully lobbied the Minister of Education and school boards to extend the time-frame and the range of clientele in French language programs in the public school system. Concern for the rapid rate of assimilation of Franco-Albertans had stimulated the ACFA to commission an investigation of parental expectations for French education in the province. The results of the Perron Report had proven useful to the Task Force and to the Board of Trustees in the assessment of the political environment. The 1983 study indicated that 46.7% of Franco-Albertans preferred a homogeneous French school with a French administration and staff at the elementary level.

Perron discovered that 52% of Alberta Francophones favored immersion schools because they did not want to "live marginally." An interesting finding suggested that 54.9% did not want more than 50% of the courses taught in French at the elementary levels. According to the Report, the majority of Franco-Albertans chose the 50-50 formula because the learning of French "should not be done to the detriment of learning English. French should not be disadvantageous to our young people in their training for the future." (French Language School Task Force Report, 1983: 9-11).

The ACFA was instrumental in sensitizing and informing the French community on the rationale for French language schooling in an English milieu. The Association invited FFHQ President Mrs. Séguin, Ottawa researcher Dr. Desjarlais and Saint Boniface administrator Mrs. Labossière to Alberta in order to influence the decision-makers and the Edmonton Catholic Francophone community to accept a new formula for assuring the survival of the minority language population in Alberta. These out-of-province educators were deemed by 50% of the respondents to have been influential in raising the awareness of Francophones to the need for a French Language school to stem the tide of cultural assimilation. They had also encouraged the Francophone community to articulate their demands through the political process. (Personal interview, Lacombe, 1986: August 20).

ACFA Officials were pleased that the School Board was

exploring the feasibility of a French school and encouraged trustees and administrators to implement the concept within the district. President Mr. Goyette and Executive Assistant Mr. Lacombe admitted to being "uneasy" that Anglophone parents were being consulted and indicated that they would have welcomed involvement in the planning of the study. They recommended to the Task force that a phase-in of the concept would be acceptable within an existing immersion school if "the total ambiance of the school" were French and advocated that the only criterion for entrance be linguistic fluency (French Language School Task Force Report, 1983: 9-11).

Meanwhile Le Franco, the ACFA's weekly newspaper, advocated a strict interpretation of Charter parental rights and the need to grant the governance of French education to the Francophone community. Respondents recalled that use of the French press as a leverage tool for bargaining and negotiating the demands of the French community had been unfavorably perceived by decision-makers and administrators.

The role of ACFA Officials in providing policy-relevant information to the Task Force and to the decision-makers had generally been appreciated by trustees and administrators.

Les Agents de la Pastorale Francophone d'Edmonton

In reaction to the proposed Bugnet School which was seen as a threat to the existence of the Catholic School District as an institution, Archbishop MacNeil (MacNeil,

1983: June 6) and the priests involved in ministry to Francophone parishes indicated their support for the establishment of a French school within the Edmonton Catholic School District. The Pastoral Committee for Francophone parishes, in a November 15, 1983 letter to the Trustees, advised the Board to accept cultural and religious entrance criteria to determine admission to a French school. Parish priests and Francophone parish councils were actively involved in the dissemination of literature and the sponsorship of public meetings promoting the French school.

La Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec (FFHQ)

The FFHQ President Mrs. Seguin was invited to Alberta to convince Deputy-Minister of Education Bosetti, Superintendent of Schools Dr. Brosseau, Trustees and parents of the need to provide French language education to minority children and to inform them of developments in other provinces. As a warrant in support of a French school, Mrs. Seguin claimed that it was "educationally, philosophically and indeed theologically correct for French speaking students to be educated in a milieu which is consistent with the child's linguistic and cultural background" (French Language School Task Force Report, 1983:11). Respondents stated that her efforts to acquaint legislators and parents with the need for a distinct program for Francophone students made a significant contribution to the discussion

and promotion of the French Language School concept.

(ACFA) Ad Hoc Committee

Consternation with strategies employed by the French Language School Task Force caused Francophones to fear rejection of the concept of a French language school by the majority of Edmonton Catholic stakeholders. Francophone respondents indicated that they were resentful of the plan to consult with non-Francophone stakeholders:

> We felt that it didn't concern everybody . . . and that if only parent committees were answering and not necessarily on behalf of all their parents - this wasn't exactly right. I'm not sure that they went about it in the right way or that they were interviewing the right people or asking the right questions. The School Board was acting in good faith when they set up this Task Force but I'm wondering how aware they were of this whole question of l'école francaise. There was a lack of information, lack of input from people who really knew what a French school was (Personal Interview, Roy, 1986: June 11).

At the time, conflict within the Francophone community had aroused debate on the relative merits of denominational and cultural priorities in determining the context for French language education. Francophones were generally concerned about possible threats to existing French immersion schools in light of the Association Bugnet's plans to establish a private non-denominational French language school in the Bonnie Doon area. At a public forum at La Faculte Saint Jean on May 18, 1983, French minority language parents formed an Ad Hoc Committee to present a formal request to the Edmonton Catholic School Board for the

establishment of a French Language school. Convinced that demands for a more effective French curriculum lacked the support of the system-wide and parent advisory committees of French immersion schools, Francophone parents committed to the Catholic philosophy of education banded together as a lobby group to support the concept of minority French language education within the Catholic school system. (Personal Interview, Roy, 1986: June 11).

The position endorsed by the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee in a June 6, 1983 brief to the Board of Trustees stated that a French language elementary school should be established in the district to respect the Charter rights of French minority language students. It asserted that French immersion programs did not respond to the educational and cultural needs of French minority language students and only served to accelerate the rate of cultural assimilation of Francophone students.

In the brief, the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee requested active participation "in defining the French school, in determining its philosophy, and in formulating policies." The Committee insisted that the Board establish a special vehicle for input distinct from the System-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education (ACFA Brief, 1983, June 6: 7). The Board acquiesced in part to this demand by directing the superintendent to set up a committee to gather advice on certain facets of the planning process (Board

Minutes, 1983: September 19).

The French School Committee chaired by Richard Laplante, Director of Planning and Communications, consisted of Trustee Philippe Gibeau; three members from the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee Denis Lorieau, Claudette Roy and Claudette Tardif; and two parents at large Jeannine Sabourin and ex-Trustee Simone Secker. ACFA Ad Hoc Committee members invited to sit on the Committee were very influential in advising the Board of Trustees to adopt admission criteria which respected Section 23 of the Charter and to locate the French language school within the popular French community of Bonnie Doon.

However, the Board directed the committee members to process their recommendations on the admission criteria and the selection of a site through the executive of the System-wide Committee for Bilingual Education, chaired by Francophone Mr. Mousseau. According to a respondent, the directive was not well received by the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee who would have preferred acceptance by the trustees without consultation with the system-wide committee which it perceived to be representative of the "English community."

The ACFA Ad Hoc Committee kept the Minister of Education abreast of the evolution of events and sent letters of appeal to him when it perceived threats to the successful implementation of the policy. Fearful that location of the school outside of a Francophone neighborhood

would jeopardize student enrolments, the president appealed by letter (Roy, 1983: March 28) to Minister of Education King to use his influence with the Edmonton Catholic Board of Trustees to remove threats caused by "pressures exerted by other parent groups." In his reply, the Minister stated that department officials of the Edmonton Regional Office were "monitoring this issue very closely," and he emphasized that the matter of the physical location of a program "is clearly the responsibility of the local jurisdiction" (King, 1983: April 25).

With the support of the local French media and Francophone parishes, the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee was instrumental in raising the awareness of Francophones to the unmet educational needs of minority language students within immersion programs. The ACFA Ad Hoc Committee had produced a clear statement of its position and made this position known to the policymakers through formal and informal contacts with individual Trustees and the chairmen of the Board. It influenced policymaking by presentation of a public brief, a petition, regular and special meetings with policymakers, administrators and parent groups, electioneering, membership on the superintendent's advisory committee, correspondence with the Board of Trustees and the Minister of Education, and an effective use of the Media.

Though political pressure tactics such as perceived manipulation of parent advisory meetings and negotiations

through the French press were resented by French immersion parents, administrators and Trustees, thoughtful input from the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee was generally well received and accepted.

Saint Thomas Aquinas French Immersion Parents

Dissatisfaction with the admission criteria and with the re-allocation of the Picard site which had been promised to the St. Thomas Aquinas school community fostered a movement to demand the co-habitation of both French language programs in the same facility. In a personal interview, a respondent (Bourigault, 1988: March 30) recalled that most non-Francophone parents were unaware of the lobbying done by the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee. "I definitely remember them (Francophones) trying to influence us when

> We had a general meeting at our school and it was very upsetting to the immersion parents because we were broken up into small groups led by supporters of a Francophone school. It was very difficult for us to give our input because every time we raised a question which was not in agreement with what they wanted to do, we were not given a chance to discuss it as a group.

French immersion parents had expressed dismay and frustration at being excluded from the decision-making process and at the lack of consideration of the French School Committee for the input of English speaking parents. Many "felt betrayed by the administration, the Board and the Parent Advisory Committee." Opponents to the exclusivity of the French language concept made their views known by letter

to the Prime Minister, their Member of Parliament, the Minister of Education, the Commissioner for Official Languages, the editor of Le Franco as well as to the Trustees. The pressure group also presented a petition to the Board prior to the Board acceptance of the French School Committee's recommendations on admission criteria. Explaining that only 50 St. Thomas Aquinas families had indicated support for the French school and that at least 70% of the signatory families had at least one parent who spoke French, Mr. Willis (1983: December 12) insisted that the parents were committed to a quality education within the French community - -

> ... presque tous les parents des enfants qui fréquentent Saint Thomas sont fermement engagés à donner à leurs enfants non seulement une éducation de haute qualité dans un français de haute qualité, mais aussi de favoriser l'épanouissement d'une communauté francophone florissante.

J.H. Picard - St. Mary's Academic Occupational Program

When the parents of J.H. Picard and of St. Mary's Academic Occupational Program realized that the Board had approved the co-habitation of both programs (Board Minutes, 1983: December 19), discontent threatened to affect the decision to locate the French school in the Picard facility. Parents who had reluctantly acquiesced to the 1981 Board decision to relocate the secondary Bilingual school were emphatic in voicing their displeasure. They questioned the integrity of the Board decision which, they claimed,

undermined the historical and educational rationale for the establishment of the secondary "bilingual" school in 1972.

Unable to arrive at an acceptable compromise, the parent advisory committees communicated by letter (Hebert, 1984: March 8; Coulombe, 1984: March 9) their unanimous decision that co-habitation would be detrimental to both programs. Despite this feedback, the Board upheld its December decision to retain the Academic Occupational Program at Saint Mary's School (Board Minutes, 1983: March 16). On the advice of Board Chairman Dr. Green that it was up to the dissatisfied group to find a reasonable solution, parents and staff threatened to boycott the move of the secondary school from the J.H. Picard facility. On April 3, the Picard Parent Advisory Committee decided that the most reasonable solution was to remain at their present location.

POLICY ARGUMENTS

The data collected in the analysis of the policy decision-making process revealed the motivations and arguments which were advanced in opposition and in support of the political demand for a program for minority language students in a homogeneous educational facility. In view of the positions taken by the various stakeholder groups considered as key influentials in the resolution of the policy issue, the researcher shall present the major arguments voiced by people opposed to the establishment of a

French language school and then present some Figures which elucidate the motivations and arguments advanced in favor of the change.

All respondents recalled that French schooling was mainly opposed by people who thought that the establishment of a separate facility for Francophones would sanction ghettoism and cause divisiveness within the Catholic community. This attitude surfaced in comments written by a parent in a district survey of French immersion programs:

> I don't think French immersion should be aimed solely at "English-speaking" children but all children who choose to learn their subjects primarily in the French language. There is danger in "segregating" the children thus seeding distrust and misconception of a "different class of citizens" in our society. French immersion should be for English, francophone and children whose first language is not English (Respondent 033, French Immersion Program Parent Survey, 1986: Spring).

Secondly, decision-maker and administrator respondents recalled concerns for the financial implications of initiating a new program and meeting transportation costs at a time of declining enrolments. The debate on the merits of French immersion programs in meeting the needs of Franco-Albertans aroused the third major concern for the viability of district French immersion programs. These political, economic and educational considerations were addressed in the Task Force Report on the French School and publicly espoused by members of the Saint Thomas Aquinas school community.

The motivations and arguments of the Francophone community according to the perceptions of the respondents have been organized in Figures according to Dunn's (1981) methods of argumentation. Figure 2 indicates the policy-relevant information identified by all respondents as key arguments to the Board of Trustees on the need to differentiate between the educational needs of students being instructed in French as a mother tongue and students learning French as a second language. The outcome of the differentiated curriculum issue was perceived to have been determined by value-critical arguments. Figure 3 is meant to reflect the recollected value base of the parents of students enrolled in French language programs in the Edmonton Catholic School District in 1983.

In Figure 4, a table of pragmatic arguments from motivation, parallel case and analogy further reflects the perceived lobbying stance of stakeholders supporting the request for a French language school. The warrant from motivation revealed the motivating goals of the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee and of Francophone supporters of the French school concept. The warrant in argument from parallel case and analogy supported the assertions made by Francophone supporters that instances of legal decisions in other provinces indicated a precedent to justify affirmative policy action in the Edmonton Catholic School district.

The researcher had anticipated that the prime

ELEMENTS OF THE POLICY ARGUMENT

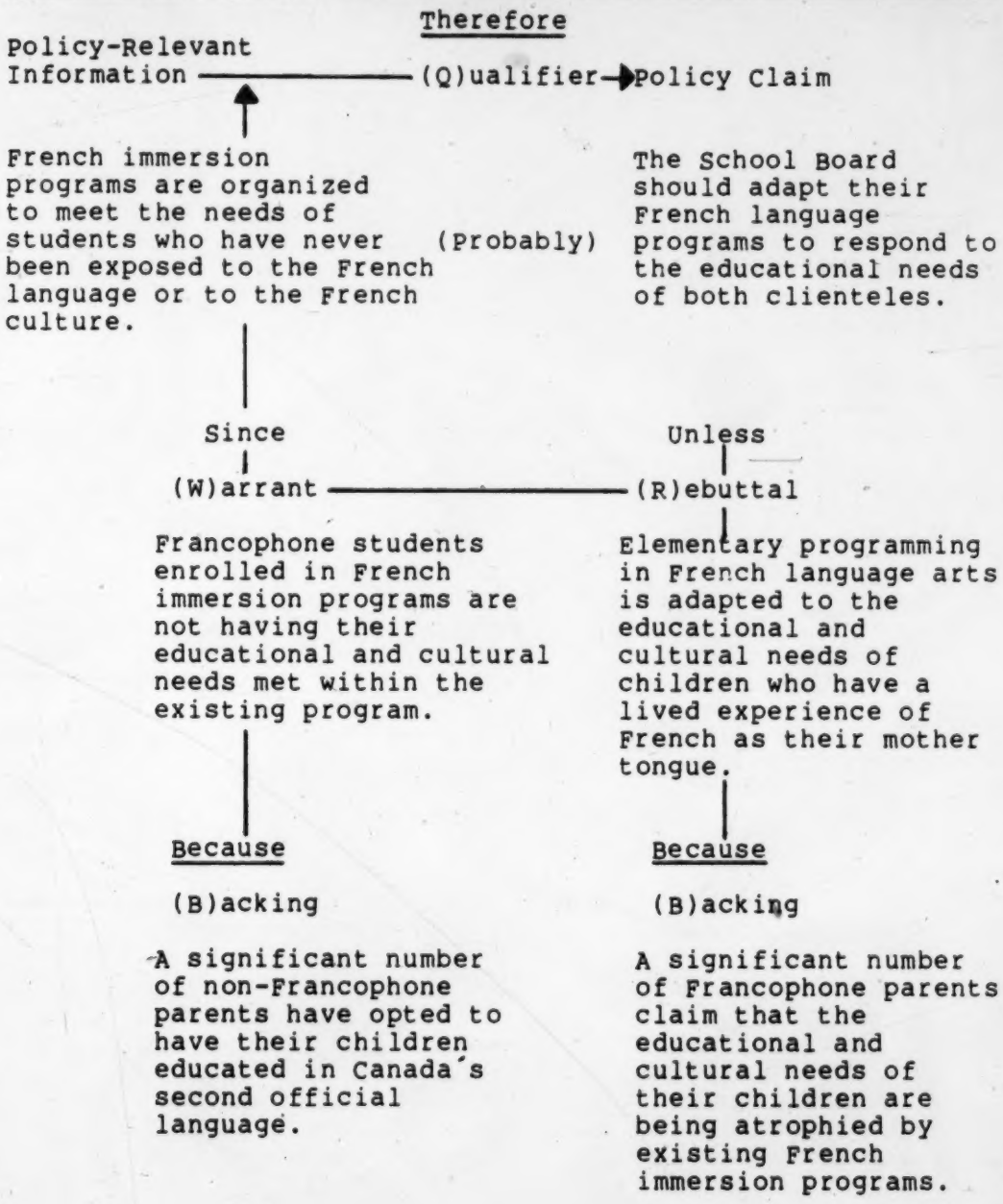

Therefore
Policy-Relevant Information
(Q)ualifier
Policy Claim
French immersion programs are organized to meet the needs of students who have never been exposed to the French language or to the French culture.
(Probably)
The School Board should adapt their French language programs to respond to the educational needs of both clienteles.
Since
Unless
(W)arrant
(R)ebuttal
Francophone students enrolled in French immersion programs are not having their educational and cultural needs met within the existing program.
Elementary programming in French language arts is adapted to the educational and cultural needs of children who have a lived experience of French as their mother tongue.
Because
(B)acking
A significant number of non-Francophone parents have opted to have their children educated in Canada's second official language.
Because
(B)acking
A significant number of Francophone parents claim that the educational and cultural needs of their children are being atrophied by existing French immersion programs.

Figure 2 (Dunn, 1981: 77)

VALUE-CRITICAL ARGUMENTS

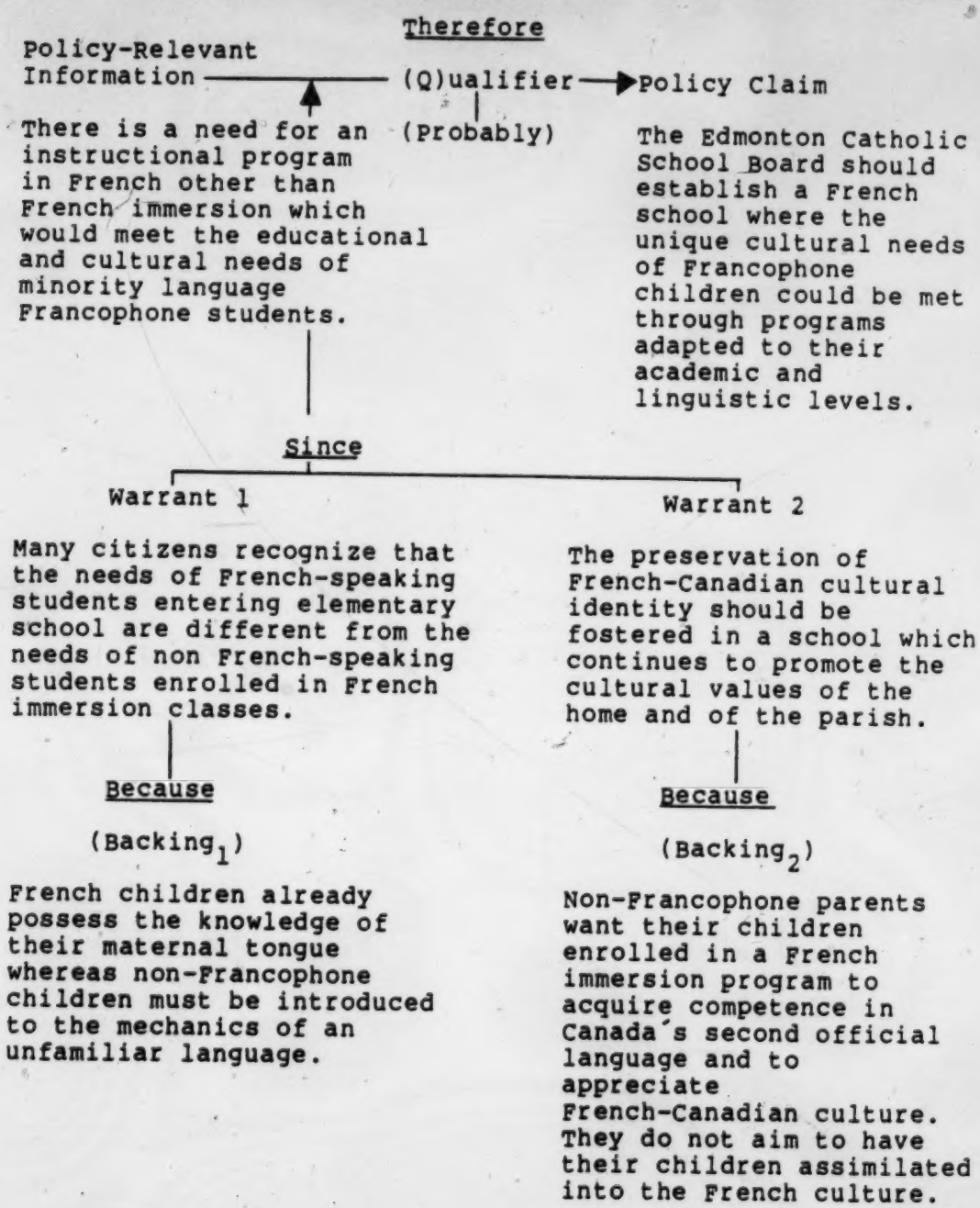

Therefore
Policy-Relevant Information
(Q)ualifier
Policy Claim
There is a need for an instructional program in French other than French immersion which would meet the educational and cultural needs of minority language Francophone students.
(Probably)
The Edmonton Catholic School Board should establish a French school where the unique cultural needs of Francophone children could be met through programs adapted to their academic and linguistic levels.
Since
Warrant 1
Warrant 2
Many citizens recognize that the needs of French-speaking students entering elementary school are different from the needs of non French-speaking students enrolled in French immersion classes.
The preservation of French-Canadian cultural identity should be fostered in a school which continues to promote the cultural values of the home and of the parish.
Because
(Backing1)
Because
(Backing2)
French children already possess the knowledge of their maternal tongue whereas non-Francophone children must be introduced to the mechanics of an unfamiliar language.
Non-Francophone parents want their children enrolled in a French immersion program to acquire competence in Canada's second official language and to appreciate French-Canadian culture. They do not aim to have their children assimilated into the French culture.

Figure 3 (Dunn, 1981: 91)

PRAGMATIC ARGUMENTS

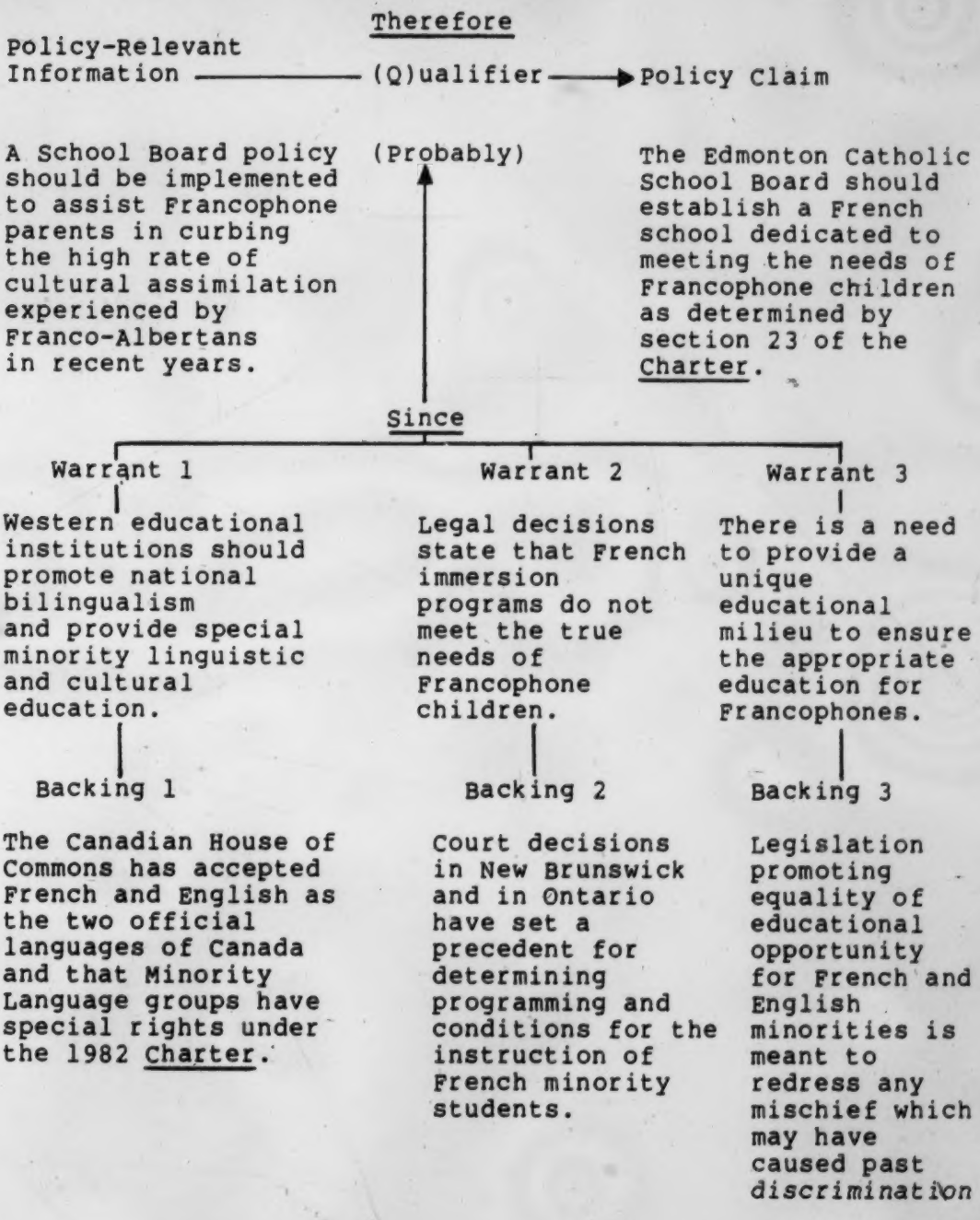

Therefore
Policy-Relevant Information
(Q)ualifier
Policy Claim
A School Board policy should be implemented to assist Francophone parents in curbing the high rate of cultural assimilation experienced by Franco-Albertans in recent years.
(Probably)
The Edmonton Catholic School Board should establish a French school dedicated to meeting the needs of Francophone children as determined by section 23 of the Charter.
Since
Warrant 1
Warrant 2
Warrant 3
Western educational institutions should promote national bilingualism and provide special minority linguistic and cultural education.
Legal decisions state that French immersion programs do not meet the true needs of Francophone children.
There is a need to provide a unique educational milieu to ensure the appropriate education for Francophones.
Backing 1
Backing 2
Backing 3
The Canadian House of Commons has accepted French and English as the two official languages of Canada and that Minority Language groups have special rights under the 1982 Charter.
Court decisions in New Brunswick and in Ontario have set a precedent for determining programming and conditions for the instruction of French minority students.
Legislation promoting equality of educational opportunity for French and English minorities is meant to redress any mischief which may have caused past discrimination

Figure 4 (Dunn, 1981: 83)

motivating factor to activate the policy review could be directly ascribed to the political demand to provide minority language education as a Charter right for Francophone parents. However, an analysis of key stakeholder perceptions revealed that respondents perceived the legally mandated educational rights to be the fourth most significant claim for policy change. The description of the historical context in chapter 4 supports the researcher's assumption that the dissatisfaction of Francophone parents and educators with French Immersion courses was an important motivational factor in the demand for policy change. All of the respondents perceived that the major argument in favor of a French language school was the need to respond to the educational and cultural needs of Francophones to help them retain their cultural and linguistic identity. The majority of respondents identified the need to check the forces of cultural assimilation as the second major concern. The third significant argument arose from the pedagogical responsibility to differentiate between the Francophone and the French immersion clienteles.

INFLUENCE

The second key theme for analysis addressed the level of influence of key actors in the policy process from the following perspectives:

> What potential and implicit influence was held, and what manifest influence was exercised by those who had, or attempted to have input into the policy decision?

An individual's or group's potential influence, according to Dahl (1970: 28) is determined by the political resources such as time, money, control over information, social standing, rights of public office, solidarity, education and energy which are available to that individual or group. Manifest influence (Dahl, 1970: 26) refers to the actual influence exerted by an individual or group who had input to the policy decision. Implicit influence (Dahl, 1970: 30) exists when an individual or group has virtually no potential influence but is perceived to possess it by the policymakers.

In the study, influence was identified in terms of individual or group access to political resources. Political resources were identified and an attempt to gauge the perceived levels of influence of the various stakeholders were arrived at by examining the relevant files of the Edmonton Catholic School District and of the above mentioned groups and by interviews with key actors in the policy process.

The most useful data related to the influence held and exerted by the various groups were obtained during a personal interview with Dr. Acheson (1986: May 29), Chairman of the French Language School Task Force and Superintendent of Program Services who recommended establishment of a French elementary school as one viable and feasible solution to the French education issue. Because he supervised the interpretation of data which supported the administrative recommendations to the Board, his perceptions of influence were deemed to be the most valid. Additional supporting data concerning influence are presented in other portions of this chapter. These include personal contacts with Trustees and Central administrators, presentation of briefs, research papers, petitions and correspondence.

Respondents perceived that a majority of the Trustees were predisposed toward the French language school prior to manifest political pressure being exerted upon them by interest group supporters. Dr. Acheson perceived that the input from Francophone parents and educators had been the strongest manifest influence on Board decision-making. Respondents confirmed that potential influence was apparent in the role played by the provincial ACFA, Les Agents de la Pastorale, the FFHQ, the System-wide Advisory Commitee on Bilingual Education and members of the Board of Trustees who were spokesmen for the Francophone community during the phase of administrative policy analysis.

Most of the interviewees deemed that the ACFA provided the greatest potential influence in affecting the outcome of the policy decision. By facilitating the dissemination of valuable educational information to decision-makers and to the Francophone community during the policymaking process, the ACFA had positively influenced the key decision taken on June 20, 1983 to establish a French language school.

Despite the perception by some respondents of the lack of potential influence of the System-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education, this organism was viewed by decision-makers and administrators as holding a high degree of manifest influence on policymaking in the school district. This influence was attested to by the Board's concern that the findings of the Task Force Report had been approved by the committee and that implementation measures continue to be dialogued with members of the system-wide committee (Board Minutes, 1983: June 20). The French School Committee had been directed to seek support from the Executive of the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education for its proposed concept of a French school (Board Minutes, 1983: November 21).

By their interpretation of the data collected within the Edmonton Catholic community and the nature of their recommendations for policy action, administrators on the French Language School Task Force Committee wielded manifest influence on the ultimate policy decision. Dr. Acheson

surmised that the administrative recommendations made by the French Language School Task Force members were most influential in convincing the Board to establish the French language school. He noted that advice from educators within the district and from Alberta Education officials based on research studies of language education had provided manifest influence to the Task Force members in the development of their recommendations for alternative scenarios for French language education.

Members of the Board of Trustees, particularly the three Francophone Trustees, were identified as having held a high degree of manifest influence on policymaking by Dr. Acheson who saw them as "the key movers . . . who attempted with varying degrees of success to try to coalesce input" from the various stakeholder groups. The majority of respondents concurred with Dr. Acheson's opinion that manifest influence on the policy outcome was exhibited by the Trustees who ultimately assumed responsibility for the "authoritative allocation of societal values" when they

> took the courageous decision to accept the principle of the Francophone school. The resolution of the Board responded very accurately to the Task Force Report which the committee felt reflected the consensus of the community. The June 20 1983 decision was a key decision taken by the 1980-83 Board. When that decision was accepted, the Administration and sub-committees of Trustees could move ahead. The committee was disappointed that the Board felt that there had to be another committee set up because we felt that every issue had been addressed and it was time to get along with the task.

Legal claims to constitutional rights as well as the appeal to the logic of current research findings in French language education had been taken into consideration by the French Language School Task Force prior to any implicit influence being exerted on decision-makers by the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee. In Dr. Acheson's opinion, the decision to establish the French School could have occurred

> . . . without special representations by members of the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee. The collective French community and all of the groups had made a very valuable contribution to the resolution of the issue. We checked for feedback and the stakeholder groups were pleased with our presentation to the Board.

The potential influence of the Ad Hoc Committee was particularly significant when it functioned as a favorable support to the allocative policy decision in June. The influence of the committee on policymaking was later made manifest by their involvement in the definition of entrance criteria, in the selection of a facility and in the obtention of greater political participation by Francophone parents.

Encouraged by the provincial ACFA, the Ad Hoc committee had developed patterns of lobbying that maximized their influence during the policy implementation stage. The informal contacts with Trustees and administrators to persuade decision-makers of the justness of their interpretation of Charter rights were generally welcomed. Correspondence with the Board and the Minister of Education

focused on the activities and demands of the Association and was favorably received. Attempts to clarify their position and the desired direction needed to attain their demands through contacts with the bureaucracy and with system-wide and school parent advisory groups did provoke mixed reactions as noted earlier but were eventually accepted. The ACFA Ad Hoc Committee had assumed responsibility for informing decision-makers and the community at large which did influence the acceptance of the policy change and affect its implementation. Finally, they maintained pressure on elected Trustees and on the Edmonton Catholic community, particularly on Francophone parents, which resulted in a commitment to a new direction for French language education in the school district.

Environmental threats were perceived by interest group respondents recalling the lobbying stances of St. Thomas Aquinas French immersion parents and of parents from J.H. Picard School and St. Mary's Academic Occupational Program. The implicit influence of the immersion and academic occupational parents was perceived by interest group respondents as threats to trustees who may have been swayed in their decision-making for personal political reasons. The threatened boycott by the Picard school community demonstrated manifest influence on policy decisions which could have affected the Board's objectives to provide French schooling to minority language students in a distinct

facility. These perceptions are confirmed in a letter from the provincial ACFA president to the Board of Trustees in which he indicated that too much pressure had been placed on individuals and groups of parents

> to find solutions to the problems created by your decisions. Any proposed solution which divides the Franco-Albertan community reneges on your Board's promise to establish the French minority language program on the J. H. Picard site, or endangers the smooth operation of the Grade 9 to 12 immersion program to an unsound educational setting would be unacceptable (Goyette, 1984: March 5).

The majority of respondents acknowledged the potential influence of the Bugnet Society "as a catalyst" (Personal Interview, Gagné, 1986: June 10) to "accelerate the acceptance of the challenge" to look at the effectiveness of our immersion programs for Francophone students (Acheson, 1986). The manifest influence of the Bugnet Society in setting the political agenda was acknowledged at the official opening of Ecole Maurice Lavallée as that of a pressure group "qui a contribué à éveiller les forces politiques de notre ville et de notre province au droit à l'ecole française en Alberta" (Roy, "Derrière la réalisation: de nombreux acteurs," Le Franco, 1984: November 27).

GATEKEEPER STRUCTURES

The researcher's third task was to investigate the gatekeeping structures within the political organization. Individuals within an organization can act as screens to input from individuals or groups whose beliefs and biases do not agree with views held by members within the organization. To address this theme, the researcher examined data pertaining to the following questions:

> Did political structures obstruct or facilitate individual or group attempts to influence the policy decision?
>
> (a) What role was played by the Superintendent of Schools in this matter?
>
> (b) What administrators had adopted positions on this issue?
>
> What were these positions? How did they come to take these positions? Did their views evolve?
>
> (c) What policy position was taken by the School Board on this issue? What School Board Trustees had adopted positions on this issue? What were these positions? How did they come to these positions? Did their views evolve?

Evidence exists that in 1983, the Edmonton Catholic Board of Trustees was favorably disposed to be more responsive to Canada's official language minority group. At a public forum organized by the provincial ACFA in May, panelist Trustee Secker had assured the audience that the Board was acting in good faith in establishing the administrative French Language School Task Force and had

advised the parents that the Board was seeking "un consensus populaire" for a policy which would respect educational rights for minority language students (Secker, 1983: May 18). Trustees Gibeau and Gagné, also in attendance, publicly confirmed that the Board was open to the consideration of new options for French language education.

According to all respondents, most proponents of the French school concept found the political structures to be very supportive and facilitative in processing their input on policy decisions. However not all affected stakeholders perceived the structures in the same light. Respondents surmised that L'Association Bugnet must have found the political structures to be obstructive and ineffective as a vehicle for recognition of Francophone educational needs. Although they had by-passed the district's advisory structure on bilingual education, "the opportunity to be heard" had been facilitated by the chief superintendent who asked the superintendent of programs to review their proposal and assist them in preparing a presentation to the Board. Some parents affected by the re-allocation of facilities within the district perceived a screening of information by the Board and the administration.

The Superintendent of Schools

The values and views held by the superintendent of schools are an important indicator of the acceptance or

non-acceptance of new demands and expectations placed upon the school district. As chief executive of the school district, the superintendent routinely provides input on educational policy and allocative changes within the district. However the literature suggested the possibility that the superintendent could provide only the information which fits his own personal view. In some instances, the chief executive officer acts as a screen for input from interested individuals and groups whose demands threaten the viability of the institution.

Evidence from documents and decision-maker respondents confirms that the superintendent, as the educational leader of the school district, was a key participant in the development of the language education policy. During the entire process, the superintendent was perceived by most interviewees as a key communicator within the Catholic community interpreting the various educational, political and legal aspects of the issue. In a personal interview, Superintendent Dr. Brosseau (1986: June 4) stated that to ensure that trustees received a correct interpretation of the laws of the province and of Section 23 of the Charter, he maintained a constant communication linkage with Alberta Education through contact with Dr. Bosetti, Deputy Minister of Education, with Dr. Lamoureux, Director of Language Services, and with Alberta School Trustees' Association lawyer Mrs. Anderson. He had advised the trustees of the

possible educational, political and legal implications of any decision taken on the French school issue. In a key presentation to the Board on November 21, 1983, he informed trustees that

> The prime factor causing this shift in perception by the French community was no doubt the Canadian Constitution of 1982 (Section 23) which guaranteed language education rights to French and English minorities in Canada. ... Our Board has identified with their aspirations by agreeing to commence plans for the opening of a French language school in the fall of 1984.
>
> ... the new Canadian Constitution has entrenched additional minority education rights. These new rights recognize French and English as official languages for elementary and secondary education. Given these rights, it is incumbent on our board to respect them.

Concern for the education of all students had motivated the chief superintendent to recommend that the Board establish a Task Force to conduct an in-depth study of the French Language School issue. However depending on their stake in the issue, respondents expressed a range of perceptions of the superintendent as having been either very supportive, antagonistic or neutral in receiving and interpreting opinions, concerns and complaints on the French school issue during the decision-making process.

Although a documentary review does not substantiate this apprehension, members of the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee had been upset by the perceived slowness to appoint the superintendent's committee for input from the Francophone community in the planning for the French school. In the

fall of 1983, the superintendent appointed a committee to make recommendations on the most suitable site for the French Language school and criteria for entrance into the school. The committee assumed permission to propose new demands such as extension of the school to the junior high level, participation in the political system, and the regulatory control of student admittance to the French school. The superintendent's critical reception of the new demands could account for the fact that Francophone parent respondents perceived him as not fully supporting the move towards a French language school.

His presentation on the admission criteria for the French school in November 1983 moved a respondent (Personal Interview, McMahon, 1986: July 23) to state that the superintendent "was defending personal options that had nothing to do with the situation at hand". Support for such a view might be inferred from the remarks made by the superintendent on that occasion:

> It is with trepidation that I speak on the French School. Few, if any, issues in the history of our country have been so volatile and produced so much vitriol. We have little choice but to... render a decision which will be just and fair to most concerned and at the same time protect the minority rights. . . . (The ACFA claim that French immersion schools constitute a veritable source of assimilation) was, no doubt, a surprise to many on the Board as from an historical basis the French community had been the prime force in getting bilingual and immersion programs in place in Alberta.

In defending the position that "any Canadian had the

right to attend either of the two official language schools", Dr. Brosseau questioned the constitutionality of the proposed admission criteria limiting entrance to Francophones and the educational validity of the proposed philosophy for the French school.

> You will note that Appendix II has much to say about the objectives and characteristics of the French school. I could do a detailed critique of Appendix II but let it suffice to say that its language expresses as fact what may well be opinion and holds out as dogma that which might be relative. In summary, Appendix II maintains that the goal of a French school is linguistic and cultural purity, somewhat of a new goal in Alberta Education (The French School as Proposed by the Edmonton Catholic School Board, Brosseau, 1983: November 21).

French parent respondents and the French media were very critical of the superintendent's assessment of the objectives and characteristics of the French school. The French community was not encouraged by his participation in the process at that time.

Trustees (Personal interview, McDonald, 1986: July 21) perceived that the superintendent had maintained a continuous dialogue with all stakeholder groups. They recalled his concerns to provide equal educational opportunities for all students within the jurisdiction while responding to the educational and legal demands of the Francophone community. Trustee McDonald (Personal Interview, McDonald, 1986: July 21) recalled that the superintendent advised and cautioned the Board not to make decisions which would adversely affect the financial, human

and material resources of the school district. Trustee Gagné (Personal interview, Gagné, 1986: June 10) confirmed that while the superintendent had resisted demands to be "responsive" that would negatively impact on the school district, he had responsibly advised the Board to honour educational and legal demands for French language education.

In summation, in his role as chief advisor to the Board and facilitator of the policy process, the superintendent elicited a range of positive and negative reactions from policy actors and stakeholders. A review of the correspondence would suggest that the superintendent's concern for maintaining harmony within the district was perceived as both facilitating and obstructing attempts by individuals and groups to influence policy decisions.

Central Administrators

Consideration of the Bugnet Association demands by the superintendent of program services appears to have spear-headed the need to re-examine the appropriateness of the French language curriculum for the target clienteles. Trustee McDonald (Personal interview, 1986: July 21) who made the motion in support of a review of French language programs within the district recalled that "The recommendation to set up the French Language School Task Force was proposed by the administration."

Based on remarks made by the chairman of the French

Language School Task Force during a personal interview (Acheson, 1986: May 29), the researcher observed that Dr. Acheson had viewed the role of central administration as one of facilitating a policy planning process to "make things happen for French language education." Dr. Acheson helped create a climate that encouraged new ideas and fostered risk taking. In the design of the Task Force strategy, he sought "a response from all stakeholders" in a manner described by Whetten (1984: 40-42) as encouraging

> broad support for strategic changes in the organization's mission, by involving relevant interest groups in the decision making process, and wherever possible, incorporating the ideas of these groups in the final proposal. . . . The planning process entail(ed) sorting out and making sense of past actions, and establishing a range of possibilities for future actions (determining what is sensible).

Perceived by the chief superintendent (Personal interview, Brosseau, 1986: June 4) as "an open-minded person who had given a fair and objective interpretation of the data collected within the district", Dr. Acheson acted as a "catalytic leader" (Whetten, 1984: 40) who

> works within a group to facilitate the emergence of a jointly supported set of objectives. (Within) political arenas in which interest groups vie for control of organizational resources, the challenge for the central administration is to assemble a winning or dominant coalition that (would) support proposed actions.

However, it was the perception of some parent respondents that senior administrators, particularly area superintendents, had absolutely "no impact on policy

decisions" regarding French language education and acted as a screen for input on French language issues. These perceptions by interest group respondents were based on personal opinions that administrators had shown a bias in favor of language learning solely for linguistic acquisition divorced from its cultural aspect. In sum, Francophone parent respondents perceived senior administrators not to be receptive to their views of the educational and cultural needs of their children.

Evidence exists that Francophone administrators on the French Language School Task Force were sensitive to the educational needs of Francophones and that they proposed policy alternatives to the Board to enhance the quality of educational services to all students in French language programs in the district. Dr. Acheson (Personal Interview, Acheson, 1986: May 29) commended the professional honesty of administrators in gauging all dimensions of the French school issue. He stated that "The procedure was rather exhaustive" and that the recommended solutions "accurately represented the interests of the Francophone community at that time." It is documented that members of the French Language School Task Force played a key role in promoting the French school concept and in drafting the district's language policy statement.

The director of planning and communications and the supervisor of curriculum were perceived by respondents as

having made positive contributions to deliberations on criteria for admission to the French school and on selection of the site. The area superintendent of the proposed French school was perceived as having facilitated information sessions with parents of French immersion schools in support of the policy on minority French language education.

A review of school board files and interviews conducted with individuals involved in the development of the French language policy revealed more specific information as to how senior administrative staff facilitated or obstructed input to the policy decision on the concept of the French language school.

The Board of Trustees

Tangible products of the input to the Board of Trustees were a number of administrative recommendations, one based on the Bugnet proposal for a French Alternate School, one on the report of the French Language School Task Force and others based on the superintendent's French School Committee and on Judge Purvis' decision in the Alberta Court of Appeal in the Bugnet Case (1985).

In a memorandum produced for the superintendent to the trustees on the matter of the Bugnet Association's request for an alternative French school, the superintendent of program services stated:

> If the proposal is rejected, the Board may wish to meet some of the needs of the French parents who have

> expressed an interest in an "Alternative French Immersion Program". This may be done through attempting to "adapt" one or more of the existing French immersion programs to meet the unique needs and interests of the Francophone parents (students). (In like manner one or more of the existing French immersion programs may be "adapted" to meet the unique needs and interests of Anglophone parents (students) (Memorandum, Brosseau to Trustees, 1982: September 15).

The second major communication from the administration to the Board of Trustees was the report of the French Language School Task Force based on a comprehensive review of French language services within the district and on demands from the Edmonton Catholic community. This report had been prepared at the request of the Board on the advice of the superintendent of program services. Constrained to reject the Bugnet proposal for an alternative French school, the Board of Trustees had unanimously agreed to an investigation of the French language programs in the district and of the perceptions of district residents on the adequacy of these programs. The superintendent of program services made a public presentation of the findings of the Task force to the Board on June 20, 1983. The focus of the report was on the recommendation that the Edmonton Catholic School Board expand the French language programs offered at the elementary grades. To accommodate the interests and needs expressed by parents and educators in the study, three scenarios were proposed to the Board for adoption:

1. French immersion schools in which up to 80% of the instructional program is offered in French;

2. A French Language School which would cater to the needs and interests of students whose first and dominant language is French; and,

3. An English/French program for students who do not wish to be enrolled in the other two programs but who wish to be bilingual.

The report had examined input from stakeholders who favored the status quo and from stakeholders who favored the French school concept. The recommendations were based on the educational rationale that:

(1) the existing immersion programs were considered to be successful,

(2) there was "a need to establish a program that better fits the interests and needs of students whose first and dominant language is French", and

(3) that according to results of the Perron Report, there was a need to provide a 50-50 bilingual program for interested Francophones and for Anglophones desiring functional bilingualism.

Other recommendations dealt with the need to share the findings of the study with stakeholder groups that would be affected by the decisions and to establish a system of communication to verify the acceptability of the concepts within the school system. Considerations for entrance criteria, integration at the secondary level, acquisition of resources, piloting of "adapted" materials, inservicing of teachers and a time-line for a phase-in pattern for the French language school were also discussed.

Respondents perceived that a number of the trustees, especially the trustees from a French-speaking background,

had been more quickly sensitized to the needs and aspirations of Francophone students and their parents. To conduct an investigation into French language programs and to provide the opportunity for consultation in the decision-making process, the trustees had set up a Task Force to gather the educational priorities and preferences of individuals and interest groups for French language education. Following the initial assessment of the views and expectations of the public and stakeholder groups as to possible new directions for the provision of French language education, trustees reacted very favorably to the recommendations of the Task Force. The Board unanimously approved the key decision "that plans be commenced for the opening of an elementary French school in September 1984". The policy decision was favorably received by the French community and responded to their expressed demand.

During the ensuing planning stage, the School Board acted very much as a facilitator by directing the superintendent to set up a committee of Francophones to determine the most suitable site and the most acceptable criteria for admission. Interest group respondents stated that they were thankful for the support of the Board because they had apprehensions that feedback would be obstructed by the administration.

The third major policy-related communication from the administration was a report on the proposed site and

admission criteria for the Francophone school from the superintendent's committee. To back their recommendations, the French School Committee members, in consultation with the French community, developed supportive criteria for the selection of J.H. Picard as the location for the French school and presented educational and legal warrants for the admission of "all students whose maternal language is French (as) candidates for the French school." The Director of Planning and Communications as Chairman of the Francophone School Committee advised the superintendent (1983: November 16) that although the committee's mandate had been restricted to two recommendations, the committee had deemed it important to address considerations based "on the concern of the Francophone community for a total basic education." The committee had therefore recommended

1. that the principle of the Francophone school from K to 12 be accepted by the Board;

2. that the Board extend the Francophone school from K-8 as of September, 1984;

3. that the Board announce simultaneously a new K-8 site to house the Immersion program in south-east Edmonton; and,

4. that the School Board establish a Francophone school advisory committee.

The superintendent was not very receptive to all the recommendations. According to his understanding of the Charter on November 21, 1983, he considered the proposed admissions criteria restricting entrance to Francophone

students to be "ultra vires". Prior to re-consideration, the Board requested that legal implications of the criteria be assessed and that the recommendations be dialogued with the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education.

Trustees and the superintendent consulted with lawyers and with Alberta Education to determine interpretation of the Charter's status in Alberta. The department had not issued any directives for minority language education because as observed by Bryce ("Educational Decision-Making" Challenge, 1977: 3-4), on examination of provincial language policy

> . . . (it) turns out to be that the issue of providing French language instruction, and the political opprobrium which may be engendered, is passed on to local boards. This is clearly a case of asking local jurisdictions to make decisions which fall well beyond their individual boundaries.

Former Minister of Education Dave King considered that the Board had the discretionary authority to consent to the establishment of a French language school. Allowing that "the current School Act treats (French language instruction) as a privilege rather than as a right," he emphasized that

> "the current status of the Act is that the parents who want a French language education for their children go and ask, and a Board makes a decision about whether it will be aye or nay" (Personal Interview, King, 1986: September 15).

In a personal interview, Dr. Lamoureux (1986: July 28), also stated that new regulations were unnecessary because "even in 1970, there was nothing in the School Act

and the Regulations that prevented the School Boards from providing French language education . . . in a separate French school."

It was therefore the Board's responsibility to show leadership in adopting criteria for admission to minority language education programs. As stated by Enns (1966), decisions in education are always subject to political determination and arrived at in a political environment in which

> The board has certain discretionary powers which it may exercise or not as it sees fit. ...this is the area in which boards can exercise their leadership, where they can take the initiative and where they can introduce innovations into their own school systems. In the exercise of discretionary powers the school board is the agent of the local school supporters rather than of the legislature. Of course, the exercise of discretion, or functioning as a real government does not come free. It costs money, first of all and there are also costs in terms of political pressures and public criticism.

There was fear by some Trustees that the criteria restricting admission to the French school to children who identified culturally with the Francophone Catholic community would cause an injustice to linguistically competent students in French language programs. These fears were expressed during the December 19, 1983 Board meeting when the motion to adopt criteria for entrance based on "the requirements and spirit of Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms" was amended to include linguistic competence.

> After trustees who feared the board would be opening itself to charges of racial discrimination supported an amendment to make the entrance criterion linguistic ability, not social background, Francophone members, in a secret session, persuaded their opponents to withdraw their amendment. Mr. Gibeau contends that the school system is protected from legal action (on the basis of discrimination by ethnic background) by the new constitution, which guarantees Franco-Albertans their own schools where numbers permit (Gord and Weatherbe, "Edmonton RC Board Starts a French-only ecole," Alberta Report, December, 1983).

Part of the apprehension came from Trustees and administrators who feared a backlash against the Francophone community. This concern may have been a reaction to the lobby by Saint Thomas Aquinas School parents who opposed a policy recognizing "two classes of citizens" and rescinding of the decision to relocate their program to the J.H. Picard school facility. Reaction from residents negatively affected by this allocative decision can be judged by the claim of a French Immersion parent that,

> The School Board has not been fair to the French immersion program, especially at St. Thomas d'Aquin and yielded to political pressures from the Francophone community. We shall take that into account when we vote for our representatives on the School Board and elect representatives who can make decisions which make sense instead of political expediency (Respondent 033, French Immersion Program - Parent Survey, 1986: Spring).

The final communication of major importance was the interpretation by Judge Purvis of the applicability of Charter provisions for minority language education in Alberta. The statement of Judgment (Reasons for Judgment, Honourable Mr. Justice S. S. Purvis, 1985, July 24: 43-50)

recognized "the evidence that in French immersion programs French is taught as a second language" which does not "satisfy the rights to school instruction in the language of the s. 23 linguistic minority" where numbers warant. The decision confirmed that the School Act was not consistent with the intent of the Charter:

> The School Act is in conflict with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to the extent that it does not provide for a degree of control and management to the citizens whose rights are established under s. 23 of the Charter and to the extent that ss. 158 and 159 are permissive and not mandatory.
>
> Section 159 provides that a board of trustees of a school district or division "may" authorize that French or any other language be used as the language of instruction. This permissive language does not comply with Charter requirements. To comply, the words used must provide that French language instruction is mandatory, wherever in the province the number of children of parents described in s. 23(1) and (2) are found in sufficient numbers to warrant the service out of public funds.

Over time, administrators and trustees had become more receptive to the concerns of the Francophone community and provided them with easy access to the Board. In addition, communications to the Board were received and structures were set up to facilitate input. In advising that "Compliance with the Charter cannot be achieved instantaneously," Court of Appeal Judge Purvis determined that minority language educational rights had been recognized "in timely fashion" by the Edmonton Roman Catholic School District by the establishment of Francophone

Ecole Maurice Lavallée. The Purvis Judgment confirmed interpretations of the Charter which had informed the Francophone community's recommendations for admission criteria and provided the administration with the legal rationale for the formulation of Language Policy # 403.

The literature states that gatekeeper structures serve to facilitate or obstruct input to the policymakers. Evidence exists to support the contention that during the review of French language services the demands or desires of most stakeholders were facilitated by senior administrators. Although the Francophone community had worked with senior administrative staff, a Francophone respondent (Personal interview, Tardif, 1986: June 16) claimed that the direct political access to the policymakers proved to be more satisfying than working through the superintendent and senior administrators. It therefore appears that some stakeholders perceived that their demands were obstructed by senior administrators. In fact, the obstructing may have been due to the need to preserve the denominational character of the school district and to the need to allocate facilities in an equitable manner. A respondent (Personal Interview, Lacombe, 1986: August 20) also acknowledged that the School Board and its administrators had to go through a similar process of evolution in understanding and appreciating Charter minority language rights as did the Francophone community in addressing "this new situation".

THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The fourth aspect of the policy analysis considered in the study discusses the nature of the political process through a consideration of the following questions:

> What was the nature of the political process involved in the formation of this policy decision?
>
> (a) Do you perceive the policy decision to have been a political decision and/or an educational decision?
>
> (b) What constraints to the policy decision were perceived by the policymakers to be operative at the time the policy was made?

The policymaking process to establish minority language educational facilities and to adopt educational policy consonant with the Charter was determined to be one of consultation and not confrontation. Residents of the Edmonton Catholic School District were invited to become involved in the identification and clarification of problems in the delivery of French language education. The views and expectations expressed by parents and concerned stakeholder residents were used as the value base from which policy alternatives on French language education in the school district were generated.

Respondents generally considered the political process to have been of a consultative nature whereby the Board of Trustees approved many avenues for input to ensure the acceptability of the decision by its many stakeholders. Minister of Education King (King, 1984: April 25)

acknowledged the consultative and cooperative nature of the political process in a letter to the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee president:

> The document "Francophone School - Summary of Events" demonstrates very well the close interaction of parents, school system administrators and trustees in attempting to resolve a complex and difficult issue.

Comments on politics by Miller (Cited in Hodgson, 1976: 48) elucidate the nature of the grass-roots lobbying which characterized the process to determine objectives for the French school and to redistribute district resources. He observed that

> Politics is about policy, first and foremost; and policy is a matter of either the desire for change or the desire to protect something against change . . . Politics, then, is about disagreement or conflict, and political activity is that which is intended to bring about or resist change in the face of possible resistance.

This may explain why some respondents viewed the policy implementation phase as a tension-generating time involving difficult patterns of transaction between target groups and environmental factors. Although lobbying of Trustees was considered to have been positive, interest group respondents would have preferred power to make decisions or to directly negotiate with decision-makers.

Respondents agreed that the policymaking process essentially served three functions:

1) it created an opportunity to increase the public's awareness and understanding of minority language rights and critically related issues;

2) it tested and expanded the zone of tolerance and acceptability with regard to change in the delivery of French language education for students of French as a first language and French as a second language;

3) it identified critical issues, views and expectations to be accommodated by policymakers.

Ten of the twelve respondents considered that the policy decision had been both a political and an educational decision. These respondents claimed that because trustees care about children decisions had been oriented toward the educational welfare of students as evidenced by the district's involvement in the adaptation of French language curriculum content and the acquisition of appropriate pedagogical resources. Decision-making was also deemed to have been a political response to the legal obligations of the Charter and to sophisticated political pressure for the equitable allocation of resources. Respondents who claimed that it was mostly a political decision stated that the Francophone community had "the legal clout" of the Constitution although the Charter had not proposed an educational rationale for section 23. Analysis of the policymaking process based on School Board primary sources supports the view that a long-range educational plan based on the recommendations of the French Language School Task Force committee had been approved to respect the legal obligations of the Charter.

Constraints perceived to have limited or threatened the achievement of policy objectives during policymaking were obstacles of a legal, political, physical, distributional and budgetary nature (Dunn, 1981: 260). The constraints are classified in the order of priority perceived by the respondents:

Legal Constraints

The Charter imposed the legal obligation on school boards to provide French language education to minority language students where numbers warrant. Court challenges in Ontario and New Brunswick had upheld the Charter's mandate for the recognition of the constitutional rights of linguistic minority parents in educational legislation. Until 1982, the B.N.A. Act, 1867 had very little to say about education except to assign exclusive responsibility to the provinces for education. Alberta school boards, as agents of the legislature, had the discretionary authority to provide French language education within their school districts. Alberta had yet to approve educational legislation to conform to Charter obligations.

Political Constraints

Political opposition to the recognition of specific admissions criteria for entrance to the French language school posed obstacles to the acceptance of the policy. The

recognition of an exclusive "class of citizens" was considered inconsistent with Christian values of understanding between peoples and with the French immersion rationale of bilingualism for all Canadians.

Physical Constraints

The attainment of objectives for a differentiated curriculum was limited by the lack of existing curriculum and pedagogical materials adapted to the educational and cultural needs of Francophone children. The French immersion approach had been adopted by the district in 1977 and differentiated learning strategies were available in only one district school which "streamed" pupils into appropriate classes. Curriculum guidelines from Alberta Education made no distinction between French programs for Francophone and non-Francophone pupils in "French immersion" classes.

Distributional Constraints

Language programs designed to provide French language learning efficiently were limited by the need to ensure that benefits and costs are equitably distributed among all students in the district. The desire for social equity in the allocation of personnel, facilities and materials to all schools was an obstacle which threatened to limit the attainment of policy objectives.

Budgetary Constraints

School Board budgets are limited, thus requiring that objectives be considered in light of scarce resources. Declining enrolments and population shifts indicated the need for school closures within the district. The budget deficit and the high cost of transportation for alternative programs imposed limitations on the Board's ability to provide programs of choice within the limits of available resources.

SYMBOLIC AND TANGIBLE CONSEQUENCES

> In your opinion, what do you see as future scenarios for the delivery of French language educational services within the Edmonton Catholic School district?

Perspectives for the analysis of linguistic policy changes as viewed by Breton (1984) and for the analysis of megapolicies as proposed by Dror (1971) guide the discussion of symbolic and tangible consequences perceived by the respondents.

To understand Canada's linguistic and ethno-cultural reality and the interventions of government and school boards in that field, Breton (1984: 136) claimed that it is important to realize that the process of change constitutes a struggle between contending groups over the distribution of society's material and symbolic resources. According to Breton (1984: 124, 126),

> the production of the symbolic order and its transformation entail, almost inevitably, an allocation or re-allocation of social status or recognition among various segments of the society. The construction of a symbolic order also entails the shaping of cultural traditions: values and norms on the one hand; customs and ways of doing things on the other.
>
> . . . individuals expect to recognize themselves in the values and meanings incorporated in the culture of public institutions. Language is a critical component of the symbolic culture since it constitutes a basis for defining collective identities and lifestyles.

Various reactions were observed to the adoption of Language Policy # 403 which restructured and reoriented the direction of French language education within the district

Some perceived the changes as enrichment to the district and to society. Others were less positive in their reactions; however, after initial opposition, have more or less reluctantly accepted the changes as necessary to respect constitutional rights. Still others have expressed negative reactions ranging from annoyance, resistance and even outright opposition.

Respondents believe that the policy recognizes critical cultural, educational and political goals for the school district which respect the identity, the way of life and the language of Alberta's linguistic minority and of students learning a second language.

On the symbolic level, the board policy recognizes the unique identity of Francophones as one of the founding peoples of Canada whose cultural needs must be politically met to ensure their survival. Educationally, the policy differentiates between the unique pedagogical needs of students whose dominant language is French, Ukrainian or Polish and of students learning a second language. Finally, on the symbolic level, the policy affirms the educational rights of the French linguistic minority and the aspirations of all students in linguistic and cultural programs.

The policy has produced tangible consequences in the district. Distinct curriculums have been implemented to meet the needs of linguistic minority students, of French immersion students and of students in heritage language

studies. A distinct program is offered at Ecole Maurice Lavallée in a French linguistic and cultural ambience which maintains solidarity with the home and with the French community. The curriculum in the French school has been adapted to transmit and promote the historical and cultural values of the Francophone people. Immersion and bilingual programs now aim at functional bilingualism and promote an appreciation of the target culture while respecting the child's personal linguistic and cultural integrity.

Policy # 403 flowing from the allocative and regulatory policies is the master policy or megapolicy which should provide the framework for the direction of of French language education programs within the Edmonton Catholic School District. A megapolicy (Dror, 1971: 63) is a master policy which "involve[s] determination of the postures, assumptions and main guidelines to be followed by specific policies." The megapolicy reflected the environmental and political forces which would determine future policy outcomes.

The first perspective in analyzing a megapolicy involves its capacity to establish overall goals or guidelines, to identify definite goals, and to define future choices and the best methods to achieve the desired goals. Policy # 403 symbolically recognizes the need to respond to the differing needs of minority language students and the needs of students acquiring an official or heritage

language. The policy statement implies a commitment to facilitate an educational curriculum which responds to the rights and aspirations of Francophone students and to demands for a bilingual education in an official or heritage language. A distinct French Language Arts program was adopted for elementary students at Ecole Maurice Lavallée and the district is cooperating with Alberta Education in developing curriculum to meet the needs of the different clienteles in French language and in heritage language programs.

The second megapolicy perspective relates to the question of policy boundaries within which the policy is to be confined (Dror, 1971: 65). A change in policy may require a change of organizational structures with regard to the involvement of educators and parents in educational decision-making. The board approved the incorporation of La Société des Parents des Ecoles Francophones to serve as a liaison between the school community and the Board and to provide policymaking advice on French language education. Various respondents identified the right to governance or to a form of management of minority language education as a factor which, if recognized by the courts and the provincial legislature, could result in a significant change to the school district's organizational structure.

A third perspective in considering a megapolicy examines the time preferences for attainment of policy

outputs. This third megapolicy issue of Dror (1971: 65) focuses on whether the policy goals are immediate or long-term. To provide equitable educational opportunities for all students, it may be necessary to develop a long-term plan to increase the number of facilities offering the French elementary program and to ensure differentiated secondary French language programs. Such plans must take into account the needs of all programs in the district. Long-term planning with diverse groups does involve some risk. "Risk acceptability" related to the degrees of innovative change are the fourth and fifth issues of megapolicy.

Dror (1971: 67) suggested that with risk acceptability, "the issue . . . is mainly whether one is ready to accept the higher risks associated usually with more innovation, or whether one prefers the lower risks usually associated with incremental change." The Board of Trustees agreed to proceed with innovative steps in French language education subject to allowing future incremental change in the provision of unique programs for minority language students. Given the decline of enrolment in all district high schools and the limited availability of resources, the Board faces risks in the implemention of the policy intent, particularly at the secondary level.

The sixth and seventh megapolicy considerations deal with the degree of policy comprehensiveness or narrowness of

a policy and the extent to which a policy is directed at achieving given goals through a shock effect or coordinated change. The range of client groups suggests the potential for comprehensiveness. Respondents contend that the intent of Language Policy # 403 implies a long-term development and implementation of a differentiated curriculum from the elementary to the secondary level to provide continuity for the Francophone and French immersion clienteles. This may also imply the extension of learning opportunities in heritage language programs.

The eighth facet applies especially to long-term comprehensive megapolicy which warrants consideration of alternative futures (Dror, 1971: 70). Future questions with regards to the establishment of additional program sites, the adaptation of curriculum content and new structures for parental involvement should have been seriously considered in the contingency planning. Indications are that this aspect of the megapolicy was not sufficiently addressed in regards to French language education with the result that dissatisfaction continues to be expressed by a number of stakeholders. Respondents indicated that French and French immersion programs should be expanded in distinct facilities at the elementary and secondary levels.

Megapolicy analysis involves a ninth consideration: resource availability. Resources such as money, qualified personnel, information, communication networks, and time

should have been considered. Long-term megapolicy approaches argue for novel, multiple-year budgeting procedures and the psychological commitment to protracted allocation of resources for the attainment of policy goals. From a school system perspective, the Board and its administrators have a responsibility to communicate an understanding of the aspirations of parents from both French and non-French speaking backgrounds and maintain a partnership relationship between the school and parents. The School Board is politically accountable to the public and to interest groups for what goes on in the instructional programs in schools and for the purpose or goal behind these programs.

Secondly, the district should develop a sense of ownership in the implementation of the policy in line with its local capabilities. Although the objectives and the content of the curriculum are set by the province, it is the responsibility of the the school jurisdiction to select the most suitable mode and place of learning for all students and to ensure that the adequacy of all language programs will be monitored.

Lastly, implementation of megapolicy goals requires delineation of specific policy instruments. Implementation strategies should be based on a divergent consideration of the range of implementation options available under the megapolicy dimensions which have been adopted. A continual

feedback and evaluation process necessitates a continuing assessment of the implementation process. For successful implementation of all language programs, it is necessary that the School Board provide the opportunity for in-service as well as adequate guidance, time, resources and technical assistance. (Purkey and Smith, 1985; Berman and McLaughlin, 1976; and Fullan, 1982).

SUMMARY

In this chapter the involvement of nine key stakeholder groups who influenced or attempted to influence the formulation of the Edmonton Catholic School District's French Language policy was examined. The decision-making process was considered from the viewpoint of representatives from all the major participants as to why the individual or group became involved; who were the key members involved in the process; what methods were used to solicit the opinions of their peers or members; and finally what strategies were adopted in attempting to influence the direction of the policy. Based on an analysis of the methods and extent of the involvement of these stakeholder groups, the following observations can be drawn.

Essentially, the majority of stakeholder groups engaged in dialogue with members of the French Language School Task Force or responded to questionnaires designed to solicit their views and expectations to give direction on policy for

language instruction to minority students. The approach most commonly used was that of consultation, on an individual or small group basis, with resident stakeholders. The sessions and questionnaires utilized by the Task Force were aimed at soliciting opinions and concerns on issues relating to French language education in the district. Stakeholder groups who would be most affected by a change in policy developed specific lobbying strategies in attempting to influence the policy process and the policy guidelines.

Secondly, the majority of the stakeholder respondents interviewed supported the decision to provide an alternative program to minority language students, and approved of the consultative approach adopted by the School Board to allow public and stakeholder involvement in the policy formulation process. The major issue after the key policy decision to establish a French school was to determine criteria for admission to the school and to ascertain the number of potential students for the school which would determine selection of the site. Major stakeholding groups, as well as the media were involved in the decision-making process.

The major concern expressed by stakeholder groups interviewed was the perception that the issue of minority language education was generally not understood and that insufficient information had been provided to district residents during the consultation phase. Returns on the parent questionnaire were high although respondents

indicated that many parents lacked the information to answer wisely. Some believed that the wording of some questions was misleading and that communication of program objectives was obstructed by administrators from French immersion schools.

The issue of accurate representation of the public's view was the second major concern raised by stakeholders. The assessment of public views was of major concern to the Board of Trustees, and of some concern to certain groups. Generally, the public had been given the opportunity to be very involved in the policymaking process. The issue of whether the public had a right to present its views or whether this was an issue for the French only appears to have been a major apprehension. A concern expressed by one of the stakeholder groups related to the excessive input of Francophone interest groups who appeared to articulate their views at every given opportunity, and perhaps at the expense of the opportunities for other individuals and less organized groups to express their views effectively. Francophones were frustrated by the need to present their arguments to all stakeholders groups and upset that Board procedures involved solicitation of the views of non-Francophones. Concerns were voiced by French immersion parents that they had been excluded from the decision-making process by the manifest influence of the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee. The Board of Trustees considered that valuable

input had been received from all stakeholder groups and that thoughtful input had come from the Francophone community.

The decision to establish a French language school was considered to be a response to political and educational concerns which recognized the identity, the way of life and the language of Alberta's French linguistic minority and of students learning French as a second language.

Policy decisions were influenced by the input from competing groups, the value preferences of the Board of Trustees, the recommendations of the French Language School Task Force and of the French School Committee. Demands from competing groups and the legal obligations of the Charter placed constraints on the Board of Trustees in addressing physical, distributional and budgetary considerations. While it was perceived to be an attempt to reflect a balance among the views expressed by the public and stakeholder groups and the recent literature on language education, the policy was greeted with mixed reviews of satisfaction by minority language residents and dissatisfaction by residents affected by the redistribution of district resources.

Up until this time, district language policy had simply reflected Alberta Education Regulations for instruction time in French or in any language other than English; the new policy implies a new philosophical approach to education for minority language students and for students desirous of functional bilingualism.

CHAPTER VII

THE POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS IN TERMS OF SIX MODELS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a discussion of the elements of the policy models in relation to the findings of this study. The political process will be analyzed in terms of elements from the following theoretical frameworks: the Systems Theory, the Group Theory, the Elite Theory, the Institutional Theory, the Rational Theory, and finally, the Integrated System Model. Selected elements of the various models are examined individually.

POLICYMAKING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The data collected during the study indicated a strong inter-relation between policymaking and policy implementation. As noted, the policy implementation phase occurred before the completion of the policymaking phase. As a result, the objectives of the policy were not clarified until after policy actions had been taken.

In some respects, at the time when the allocative policy decisions were made, there appeared to be a lack of concern for predictable problems of resource allocation. There also appeared to be minimal concern for addressing barriers to implementation until circumstances forced the decision-makers to take action.

For example, despite lobbying and letter writing by Parent Advisory Committees from St. Thomas Aquinas School, J.H. Picard School, and the St. Mary's Academic Occupational Program, administrators and trustees appeared to not have anticipated the dissatisfaction which would arise from redistributive decisions. On December 19, 1983, the Board had, on the recommendation of the administration, made a series of allocative decisions which determined that

1. The J. H. Picard facility would become the new French elementary school "should numbers warrant";
2. The French Immersion program at Saint Thomas Aquinas would remain in its present location; and,
3. The Academic Occupational Program at St. Mary's High School would be maintained within the relocated French Bilingual High School.

Respondents indicated that parent advisory committees, invited by the Board Chairman to come up with more acceptable solutions, became frustrated with the lengthy negotiation process which ensued. Not until May 7, 1984 was a resolution to the satisfaction of three of the parent groups achieved when the Board relocated the Academic Occupational Program.

At least three other issues which arose during the implementation phase might have been anticipated and addressed during the policymaking phase. One issue involved the question of criteria for admission to the school. The Ad Hoc Committee anticipated the issue and asked the Board of

Trustees to set up a mechanism for input into the philosophy of the school. In view of the Charter, the French School Committee proposed criteria which challenged the recommendation of the Task Force that one of the criteria for admission be one of linguistic competence. When four of the Trustees supported the inclusion of linguistic competence in the admissions criteria, Francophones threatened to legally challenge the district's interpretation of the Charter. The amendment was withdrawn following an in-camera meeting but Board policy did not reflect the unique philosophy of the French school until 1985.

A second issue which might have been anticipated by the policymakers involved the recognition of the need to extend the concept of appropriate schooling for French and French Immersion students into the junior and senior high school. Members of the ACFA Ad Hoc committee on the French School Committee had anticipated the issue by requesting the extension of the Francophone school from K-8 and suggesting to the Board that it "announce simultaneously a new K-8 site to house the Immersion program" in south-east Edmonton. The Board had also been asked in November 1983 to consider adopting the principle of French language education from k-12; the issue of the allocation of a French high school is not yet resolved.

A third issue involved a concern with participation in

decision-making as indicated by the Association Bugnet in their legal suit against the Province of Alberta. The immediate Board solution was to direct

> the school administrators as well as the French program administrators (to) continue to receive input from the Board's ad hoc committee regarding the establishment of the program as well as the establishment of a properly elected committee to serve as an on-going advisory body to this school and to this Board (Board Minutes, 1983: December 19).

Subsequent to the 1985 Purvis Judgment, the Board of Trustees did enter into discussion with representatives of the Société des Parents pour l'Ecole Francophone to pursue consideration of a Management Model. Public hearings on the model were held in December, 1987. However, the issue has not yet been resolved.

Two of the three issues noted above were not addressed during the policymaking phase and eventually contributed to continued problems encountered within the Edmonton Catholic school system.

SYSTEMS THEORY: POLICY AS SYSTEM OUTPUT

The Systems Theory depicts policy as the response of a political system to forces brought to bear upon it from the environment. These external forces, known as inputs, usually arise in the form of demands and supports. Inputs are made by individuals or groups in reaction to a perceived discrepancy between what they have and what they want. It is the consideration of this discrepancy that determines the need to examine the relevance of existing policies and the need to generate policy alternatives that could bridge the gap between what is and what should be. Consequently, public policy, from a systems perspective, is viewed as the output which results from a process of transforming demands, supports, and other inputs into guidelines for future discretionary action designed to close the gap between what is and what should be.

The inputs from L'Association Bugnet were demands for goods and services and demands for participation in the political system. The ACFA Ad Hoc Committee and the Francophone community gave supports for the goods and services and demanded participation in the political system. Later, they made demands for regulation of admission criteria and demands for communication and information on the policy and how it would be implemented.

The process in the Systems Model involves an examination of available alternatives, the formulation of

guidelines and regulations, the application and enforcing of the policy and communication of the policy decision. As attempts were made to implement the policy, feedback from the participants took the form of new demands.

The process which led to the establishment of Ecole Maurice Lavallée and the adoption of Language Policy # 403 can be interpreted from a systems perspective. To assist the policy analyst in applying the systems' perspective to a policy formulation process, Dye (1981: 43) identifies six questions as the basis for an evaluation of the policymaking process. These questions shall guide the discussion of the Edmonton Catholic School District's Language Policy # 403 from a systems perspective.

1. What are the significant dimensions in the environment that generate demands upon the political system?

The essential elements in the process of policy formulation are values, goals and attainments. The review of French language educational programs in the Edmonton Catholic school system by the Board of Trustees was in response to expressions of dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of the existing French immersion program to respond to the educational needs of Francophone minority language students. These dissatisfactions had been expressed in the late 1970s. The Bilingual Schools - A Preliminary Survey Report to the Board of Trustees on December 1, 1977

contained parental claims for the need to establish unilingual French schools to stem the rising tide of cultural assimilation. A 1980 Status Report on Modern Languages indicated an administrative concern that greater attention be given to meeting the needs and providing a challenge to French students. Following the April 1982 proclamation of the right of French minority parents outside Quebec to have access for their children to French language programs according to s. 23 of the Charter, L'Association Georges et Julia Bugnet made a formal request to the Edmonton Catholic School Board for an alternative French language school in December. In the aftermath, the Board of Trustees established a French Language School Task Force to re-examine the effectiveness of French language programs in the school district. On June 6, 1983, a representative group of Edmonton Catholic residents sponsored by an ACFA ad hoc Committee presented a Brief to the Board of Trustees expressing concern for the quality of education and for the level of skills that Franco-Albertans possessed in their mother tongue at the elementary level. They requested the establishment of a French language elementary school. District resident Francophones communicated to the Edmonton Catholic School Board through various channels that there was a need for greater responsiveness to the educational needs of Francophone students enrolled in elementary French language programs

2. What significant characteristics of the political system enabled it to transform demands into public policy and to preserve itself over time?

Under the School Act, the Board of Trustees had the discretionary power to authorize the use of French as a language of instruction up to 80% of the day in its schools providing that English Language Arts were taught according to Ministerial regulations. Whereas Francophone students at Saint Thomas Aquinas School were able to enroll in French classes designed either for Francophone or for French immersion target groups, all other students in French language schools in the district only had access to French immersion programs.

The Board of Trustees adopted a consultative approach to the review of existing services for French language education. By soliciting the views and expectations of stakeholder groups, the Board hoped to ascertain the need for change and provide an opportunity for its constituents to be participants in determining the direction of change and become sufficiently informed to knowingly accept possible changes.

To assist the Board of Trustees in assessing the values, opinions, and expectations of its constituents with regard to French language education, a French Language School Task Force was established to gather information and analyze the findings of the review. Consequently, the Board

of Trustees provided an opportunity for its constituents to express their demands, and to become actively involved in identifying and defining areas of concern in French language education.

The Board of Trustees recognized by policy the need to reflect the changing values of society as championed in the Charter. In terms of a systems perspective, this implied the need for consultation with various target groups likely to be affected by policy changes to encourage new inputs that could influence the quality of the output, and at the same time that the quality of the output could provide impetus for new input.

3) How do environmental inputs affect the character of the political system?

In the case of the formulation of the district Language Policy # 403, the Board of Trustees as well as many of the stakeholder groups, elected to take a grassroots approach to soliciting the views and expectations of resident parents and interested groups and individuals. The demands expressed by the constituents provided indicators to the Board of Trustees of the specific areas of concern held by parents of French language students and indicated the direction of educational change that would be within their zone of acceptability. Thus, the inputs from the environment helped not only to establish the direction of educational change, but also to establish the acceptable

limits or boundaries within which the policy could function.

4) How do characteristics of the political system affect the content of public policy?

In the formulation of public educational policy, the Board of Trustees administers the processes by which policy disputes are raised, argued, heard and discussed at the local level. Thus, the Board is expected to be explicit about the value premises and implications of policy decisions. In the review of French language programs in the district, the Board directed its Administration to attempt to assess the values prevalent in the district. A survey questionnaire was sent to all parents of children in French language schools in the district and a steering committee conducted guided interviews with a number of stakeholders groups within the district. Additionally, any individual or interest group could present their opinions and viewpoints to the Board of Trustees formally or informally.

While all of these forms of input influence policy decisions, one should realize that the French School Task Force Committee functioned in an advisory capacity to the Trustees. The decision to redistribute resources in the district was reached after considerable debate by the Board of Trustees. The final policy written by the superintendent of schools in consultation with senior administrators was the result of the accumulation of experience and legal information. Therefore, because the policy was a synthesis

and balance of numerous forms of input, some may feel that there were aspects of the final policy that were never open to public debate, and were thus the exclusive decision of those in an authoritative position within the School system.

5) How do environmental inputs affect the content of public policy?

As discussed earlier, individuals and stakeholder groups were invited to express both formally or informally their demands and expectations concerning French language education within the district. When groups take the time to solicit the views of their members and to write formal submissions, they also take the time to determine whether their demands are met by policy decisions. Some have continued to reiterate their unmet demands in letters and formal presentations to the Board of Trustees or to the Minister of Education. Additionally, because Edmonton Catholic residents must live with the new policy, and are expected to respect and comply with it, the policy must fall within their zone of tolerance. Thus, environmental inputs provided the value base and established the parameters of the new policy.

Dunn(1981:52) stated that "(p)roblem-oriented analysts seldom provide information about specific goals and objectives of policy makers," and when they do, they tend to formulate the policy "in deliberately obscure terms in order to gain acceptance and forestall opposition from various

policy stakeholders and the general public." Language Policy # 503 (1983) (Appendix D) did not inform the various stakeholders of the varying goals and objectives of minority language education and French immersion education. Stakeholder input enhanced by amassed experience and interpretations of the law of the land eventually contributed to the definition of acceptable goals which underlie the existing district's policy statement on French language education.

6) How does public policy affect, through feedback, the environment and character of the political system?

The decision to establish a French language school in the district set a direction for change in French language education. However, while the broad direction was set, the Board of Trustees continued to be limited in directing further policy actions by the lack of provincial guidelines and regulations for minority language education, by the district's financial capabilities and the zone of acceptability for an expansion of French language services during a time of economic restraint.

As the policy is implemented, the Board of Trustees will have to continue to respond to both positive and negative feedback from the target groups affected by these changes, and make adjustments accordingly.

In sum, the formulation of the Edmonton Catholic School Board Policy # 403 on French language education can be interpreted from a systems perspective. The process adopted, in its simplest terms, was an attempt to transform Edmonton Catholic residents' demands for changes in French language education in the district into goals and broad direction for the future of French language education in the separate school system.

GROUP THEORY: POLICY AS GROUP EQUILIBRIUM

The group model is based on the theory that politics is really the struggle among groups to influence public policy (Dye, 1981). Individuals with common interests and values come together to influence policy decisions by pressing their demands upon the decision-makers. The processes involved include bargaining, compromising and negotiating. The task of the political system is to manage conflict created by competing groups by establishing the rules for the power struggle to enable a compromise decision in the form of public policy and by enforcing these compromises (Dye. 1981: 27).

The formulation and early implementation of the District Language Policy # 403 for students enrolled in French language programs shows evidence of the group model dynamics. All Catholic residents were seen as having a stake in the future direction of French language education in the district, and were given the opportunity to become involved in establishing that direction. The following is a discussion of their involvement from a Group Theory perspective.

After rejecting L´Association Bugnet´s proposal for an alternative French language school within the system, the Board of Trustees approved the establishment of a French Language Task Force to review French language programs within the district to guide them in the formulation and

adoption of new language policies. The Board of Trustees, on the advice of the chief superintendent and the superintendent of program services, had identified the goals and objectives of the French Language School Task Force and had elected to adopt a consultative approach which would involve district constituents in the political analysis of the problem. Consequently, the rules of the game were established early in the process. The chief superintendent appointed a committee of administrators to conduct the French language program review, to assess the information acquired, and to provide alternative recommendations for policy action for the improvement of French language education services.

After the announcement of the formation of the Task Force Committee, the response from a majority of stakeholder groups affected by possible change was favourable; however, a number of groups indicated that the Task force should not recommend any changes to the status quo. Other groups expressed concern that non-Francophones should be involved in decision-making on Francophone education.

Thus during the review process, the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA) and eventually in May, the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee lobbied trustees and applied pressure through the media to ensure that Francophone rights would be recognized in policy changes.

Once the goals of the Task Force had been announced at

the January 17, 1984 Board meeting and the mechanisms for conducting the review established, the Task force set out to assess the public's expectations with regard to French language education. The consultative process took many avenues. The Task Force attained the public's perceptions about the needs of students in French language programs through a survey questionnaire to all parents of children enrolled in French language elementary programs, guided discussions with major stakeholder groups and reviews of existing curriculum programs by district supervisors of elementary education and language education specialists. Further representation was received through presentations by major stakeholder groups, which included letters, briefs, petitions, telephone calls and informal contacts with trustees, the chief superintendent of schools and Task Force members.

In sum, the initial consultative phase of the French language education review provided for individual and stakeholding group input in an organized and efficient way. Major stakeholder groups met privately with individual trustees and central administrators. Consequently, little confrontation between the conflicting demands of stakeholder groups occured at this stage. Secondly, the input from individuals and interest groups took place in a number of English schools and in all the immersion schools in the district, with dialogue taking place between parent advisory

committee members and Task Force representatives, rather than directly with the Board of Trustees. From the beginning of February to May 17, 1983, response to the first phase of the review reflected general support of the process by all stakeholder groups except by Francophone parents enrolled in French immersion schools where the majority of parent advisory committee members were non-Francophones.

In May and June 1983, the Task Force presented its report to the System-wide Bilingual Advisory Committee for discussion prior to presentation to the Board of Trustees' Conference meeting. From a group model perspective, the Task Force Report presented an initial compromise or balance among the various demands expressed by constituents and stimulated debate among the target groups. On May 17, 1983, Francophone parents fearful of misunderstanding by the immersion parents set up an ad hoc Committee to channel their demands to the School Board outside of existing school district structures.

During the second phase of the process following the decision to establish a French language school, the Board of Trustees, at the request of the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee, had directed the Superintendent to set up a committee "to flesh out major concerns" regarding the admission criteria and the location of the school. This phase of consultation provided an opportunity for the Board of Trustees to test the residents' zone of acceptability, to determine the specific

kinds of recommendations they deemed acceptable, and to determine the direction of change in French language programs that would merit the greatest amount of support and satisfy Section 23 Charter rights.

The response to the French School Committee's recommendations for admission criteria and selection of the site was mixed. French immersion parents expressed concern over the recommendation for admission criteria which was based on the language and cultural background of the student. Many perceived these criteria as signs of intolerance and elitism. Immersion parents felt that the report was the result of lobbying by the Francophones and that too much pressure had been put upon the Trustees by the ACFA and well educated members of the French community.

The French newspaper, Le Franco, applauded the proposals which responded to the spirit of the Charter guarantees of educational rights to minority language parents. The editor accused Anglophones who wanted to co-habit with French students in the Picard facility of "loving the French too much" (Denis, "Les Anglophones nous aiment trop," Le Franco, 1983: December 7).

Consequently, the second phase of the French language education review involved a confrontational debate between stakeholders on the wisdom and fairness of the recommendations made by the superintendent's French School Committee. The Saint Thomas Aquinas Parent Advisory

Committee created the most vocal public debate and expressed their concerns to the Prime Minister, their Member of Parliament, the Minister of Education, their Member of the Legislative Assembly and the community at large. This issue and the issue of co-habitation of the senior high bilingual program with a non-Francophone program at St. Mary's motivated the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee to communicate with the Minister of Education and apply pressure through the national media.

Distributive decisions on the allocation of specific facilities to target groups and the final policy statement reflected the outcome of competing demands and represented the binding decision which would establish equilibrium among the competing groups. It purported to establish a balance among the needs, wants and expectations which parents and the Edmonton Catholic community held for the school system. The statement confirmed a policy position designed to best attain the support and acceptance of Edmonton Catholic residents within the legal framework of Canadian society.

One may conclude that the formulation of the Edmonton Catholic School District Language Policy # 403 shows evidence of Group Theory dynamics. The Board of Trustees established the parameters of the French language program review, as well as the avenues by which individual and stakeholder groups could participate. The data collected and the inputs made showed evidence of competition among

stakeholder groups over specific issues rather than over the concept of differentiated French language education.

The majority of the groups interviewed were content with the final policy statement, and stated that they would continue to petition for those areas of concern not addressed nor attended to in the implementation of the policy. In sum, the District Language Policy # 403 represents a decision to commit the various competing groups to one set of possible alternative actions, and to one set of goals and values, thereby attaining a period of equilibrium among stakeholder groups (Balridge, 1971: 22).

ELITE THEORY: POLICY AS ELITE PREFERENCE

Dye (1981: 1) defined public policy as "whatever governments choose to do or not to do", a definition which lends itself to the Elite Theory which views public policy as the decisions made according to the "preferences and values of a governing elite who allocate values for society" (Dye, 1981: 29-30). When the values and preferences of elites determine public policies and shape mass opinion, policy issues do not arise from mass demand.

The recognition of minority language education in Language Policy # 403 can,to some degree, be interpreted in terms of the Elite Theory. Trustee McDonald, a trustee who held office for over two decades, (Personal Interview, McDonald, 1986: July 21) explained that the Edmonton Catholic School District had traditionally provided Francophone education which had incrementally been enhanced since 1970. She stated that the majority of trustees on the board from 1982 to 1986 continued to support the principle of French language education within the school system. However, a respondent (Personal interview, Lacombe, 1986: August 20) perceived that the Bugnet demand had been "a political threat to the school board" which motivated the elected trustees to effect educational change to maintain stability and preserve the school district.

Respondents indicated that the decision to expand French language education had been directly influenced by

elites such as Prime Minister Trudeau and Minister Chretien with the enactment of constitutional rights for the education of linguistic minorities. A review of French language education was not exclusive to the Edmonton Catholic School District. Canadian school jurisdictions outside the province of Quebec were "grappling with the implications of s. 23 of the Charter" stated Superintendent Brosseau (Personal Interview, Brosseau, 1986: June 4).

Francophone trustees were "instrumental in sensitizing their fellow trustees" (Personal interview, Gagne, 1986: June 10) to redefine their values on the implications of the Charter and the educational needs of Francophone students. In asserting that "The Board of Trustees with the administration were responsible for the establishment of a unilingual French school", Trustee Gagne indicated that the value preferences of trustees had gradually evolved because "Trustees had been attending conferences and gaining information on the ramifications of the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms."

As discussed previously, Elite Theory is based on the assumption that people are apathetic and ill-informed about public policy, consequently elites have significant influence on the shape of public opinion on policy questions (Dye, 1981:29). However, Trustee McDonald (Personal interview, McDonald, 1986: July 21), perceived that policy change in the delivery of French language programs had

sprung from "a demand from a core group of university-educated Francophones" rather than as a response to public demand.

This assertion was supported during an interview with a former president of the provincial ACFA (Personal interview, McMahon, 1986: July 23). Mr. McMahon recalled that when the ACFA lobbied the provincial government for French schools in the 1970s,

> we were pushing to get the French community to recognize that what they needed was a French school because there was resistance on the part of parents and teachers to the idea. They were afraid the kids wouldn't learn to speak English. That seemed to be the concern. There was a lot of debate - nothing very dramatic on the political scene - as to whether we should have a French school or a bilingual school in the 1970s. Ousmane Scilla did a study prior to the ACFA's fiftieth anniversary in 1975 which indicated that approximately 92% of the parents wanted a mixed school. They didn't want a French school. About 78% of the teachers didn't want a French school.

In 1983, the Perron Report indicated that dissension still existed throughout the province as to the type of school desired by Francophone parents. The ACFA survey revealed that 45.6% of Franco-Albertan parents were against a homogeneous French school at the elementary level and 39.8% at the secondary level. A majority of Francophone parents (52%) preferred the 50-50 formula for instructional time in each of the official languages.

During the policy analysis stage of French language education, the French Language School Task Force attempted to correct the lack of public awareness by having guided

interviews with stakeholder groups. After adoption of the policy to establish a French school, district administrators conducted informational sessions at all elementary French immersion school. Informational brochures on the purposes of Francophone and French immersion programs and a description of distinct program goals were distributed to all French language program parents. Thus, the School Board attempted to provide parents with clear information on the re-defined purpose of Francophone and French immersion programs and the specific goals of both programs. From an Elite Theory perspective, the Board of Trustees in consultation with representatives of the Francophone community can be viewed as having influenced or shaped public opinion by providing an information base which guided residents who enrolled their children in the French school.

Application of the Elite theory is somewhat debatable because, at the outset of the review, the Board of Trustees had not defined the basis for public input by differentiating between a French language program and a French immersion program. The initially open-ended process had not delimited the range of alternatives open to the public nor shaped the direction of their input or responses. The preliminary survey sought to determine the first and/ or dominant language of the parents, the interest in the availability of a French elementary school and the preferred location for such a school. 54.6% (551) of the 748

households (82% of the Francophone families) indicated an interest in sending their children to a French elementary school. Although no criteria for admission to a French language school had been included with the questionnaire, the responses appear to indicate a certain lack of awareness of minority language educational rights. The large number of positive responses to the questionnaire could be perceived as an indication that the public perceived the issue of French language education as an area of urgent concern. The equally large number of negative responses could have signalled an apathy towards public policy issues or a satisfaction with the status quo.

The Board of Trustees did not invite residents at large to express their views and concerns with regard to the recommendations of the superintendent's French School Committee or to the formulation of the language policy statement. The analysis and synthesis of public opinion ultimately involved senior administrators dialoguing with trustees as to what opinions and values were of most significance, and would most influence the direction of the language education policy in the district.

Finally, despite all of the consultation and recommendations gathered in the French language education review, policy statements were written by administrators under the guidance of the superintendent. Thus, a select group of administrators made the final decision as to what

would be the guiding principles for the future direction of French language education in the school district. However, further modifications occured as the policy implications were debated by the Board of Trustees enlightened by legal interpretations of the intent of the Charter in Alberta. The final policy, purported to be a balance among conflicting demands and legal obligations, was greeted favourably by district residents interested in minority language programs. Stakeholders who perceived a loss of status had mixed emotions on the allocation of special resources to the linguistic minority group.

In summary, the formulation of the French language district policy does not exhibit clear characteristics of the Elite Theory approach to the formulation of public policies. While the trustees encouraged a two-way flow of communication between the board and the masses, a select group of educators and members of the Francophone community helped define the information basis from which the public could further develop their views. The retrospective policy statement, based on the apparent values and perceptions of the public and on the allocative decisions made by the Board of Trustees, was written by administrators who shaped the principles of Language Policy # 403. As a useful tool for analysis, Dye's Elite theory mainly serves to explain that ultimately, the elected trustees determined the most influential values and opinions to be adopted in the policy.

RATIONALISM: POLICY AS EFFICIENT GOAL ACHIEVEMENT

The process used to formulate the district Language policy exhibited characteristics of a rational approach to policymaking. In most policymaking situations, a purely rational approach is often delimited by the knowledge and capacity of the policymakers, as well as by such factors as time and resources. Dye (1981:32) identifies five essential elements in rational policymaking:

1. Policymakers must identify all of society's value preferences and their relative weights;
2. They must be able to generate all of the policy alternatives available;
3. They must assess all of the consequences of each policy alternative;
4. They must calculate the ratio of achieved to sacrificed societal values for each policy alternative; and
5. They must select the most efficient policy alternative.

By examining a chronology (Appendix C) of the formulation of the district's Language Policy # 403, it is possible to identify steps in the process that are characteristic of a rational approach. To begin with, the essential aim of the French language education review was to

> ... investigate among residents of the Edmonton Catholic School district the interest in an alternative program which would be designed to meet the educational and cultural needs of Francophone students, if these needs, according to the parents of Francophone students, are not currently being met in the existing immersion programs . . (Board Minutes, January 17, 1983).

The review was to investigate implications for curriculum, organization, staffing, transportation, costs and effects on existing programs to examine the desirability and feasibility of establishing an alternative French program or school within the Edmonton Catholic School System. The principles of the final policy statement were to be consistent with Alberta Education regulations and the school district's mission statement - Policy # 100.

Thus, from the outset of the French language review process, the Board approved a clear articulation of the purpose and goals of the review process, thereby determining the steps to be taken in formulating the French Language education policy.

The second step in the rational approach to the formulation of policy is to establish a "complete inventory of other values and inventories with weights" (Dye, 1981:33). The French Language Task Force began the French program review process with an assessment of the public's perception of the need for change in French language education, by means of a questionnaire and consultation with major stakeholders. During the consultative process the Task Force obtained an indication of the public's and the stakeholders' support for change, what they appeared to value in French language education, and their zone of tolerance in the direction and extent of change in the present system. While it may be argued that the Alberta

Goals of Education and the district's Mission Policy # 100 represent what the Board of Trustees believed to be societal values unique to Catholic residents, the process could not be said to have identified all of the values of the constituents and their relative weights.

The third step in the Rational Model involves the preparation of a complete set of policy alternatives. In determining a set of policy alternatives, the Task Force engaged in a number of endeavors. First, it asked the public and stakeholder groups to voice their views with regard to the future of French language education in the district. Second, the Task Force members did a review of the curriculum content of programs offered in the system's French language schools in the light of current research studies. Finally, the Task Force members generated possible solutions for the future of French language education in the district. On the basis of the input received from all the stakeholders who were consulted and individuals and groups who voiced their interest in the issue, the French School Task Force was able to articulate desirable solutions to respond to the needs of all students enrolled in French language programs, particularly those of minority students.

The final set of policy alternatives proposed by the French Language School Task Force provided a framework for change and improvement in French language education. The Task Force, after reviewing and synthesizing all of the data

gathered in the first part of the review, generated a report which included seven recommendations supporting three alternative scenarios. The System-Wide Bilingual Advisory Committee was invited to respond to the recommendations prior to the public presentation to the Board of Trustees. Its favorable response gave an indication of the feasibility of the recommendations, as well as of the public's zone of tolerance with regard to possible changes in the French language education program. The Task Force Committee's recommendations submitted to the Board of Trustees were based on the response of all stakeholder groups.

From the data collected by the researcher and the School Board documentation available, it is unclear as to the degree to which the Board of Trustees followed the final three steps of the Rational Model of policymaking. However, it is clear from the initial response to policy decisions that it did fall within the zone of acceptability of the majority of Edmonton Catholic residents, and that it did attempt to provide a balance between the former approach to French language education and an approach based on language education to meet the needs of maternal language students and second language students.

In summary, the policy formulation process adopted in the formulation of the Edmonton Catholic School District's Language Policy # 403 clearly demonstrates some characteristics of a rational approach to policymaking.

INSTITUTIONALISM: POLICY AS AN INSTITUTIONAL OUTPUT

The institutional approach to the formulation of public policy focuses on the potential relationship between the structure of governmental institutions and the content of public policy. Because government institutions have structures or patterns of behaviour which persist over time, it is conceivable to suggest that the individuals within these structures may attempt to facilitate or obstruct certain policy outcomes (Dye, 1981:21). In the formulation of the district language policy, there is some evidence in the data collected to indicate a relationship between the content of the policy and the composition or structure of the central administration. For example, there is some documentation to explain what transpired after the Task Force's Committee consulted with the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education to seek their opinions and support for the recommendations. There is a report which indicates the debate and the eventual consensus which was reached with the Executive of the System-Wide Committee on the recommendations of the French School Committee derived from consultation with the Francophone community. The results of the first encounter were made public by the superintendent of program services and the consensus attained at the second encounter was transmitted in writing to the trustees. The fact that the final policy statement was written by senior administrators may suggest that the

composition of the group which prepared the final statement could have influenced the content of the policy. Additionally, the fact that the policy was subject to approval and revision by the chief superintendent and the Board of Trustees implies that ultimately the final policy is "whatever governments choose to do or not do" (Dye, 1981:1). The Institutional Model provides a useful way of gaining insight into the policymaking process utilized by the Edmonton Catholic School District in addressing the French school issue.

AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM FRAMEWORK

The System framework as described in chapter 2 is essentially a combination of various dimensions of the Rational Model and the Systems Theory. It integrates policy planning with policymaking, whereby policy alternatives are selected to best accommodate the present values, goals and attainments of society, as well as to satisfy possible unanticipated consequences of policy decisions. The System framework describes the process of converting societal inputs into policies which would more efficiently reduce the gap between what society wants and what it perceives to have.

The process of formulating the district's Language Policy # 403 reflected an integrated approach to policy making. Because both the Systems Theory and the Rational Model have already been described in detail in this chapter, the integrated approach will be briefly discussed.

Dunn (1981) suggests that policymaking begins with a perceived or "felt existence" of a problematic situation where a gap exists between the system's level of attainment and its goals. The initiation of the French language program review by the Board of Trustees can be viewed from this perspective. The Administration claimed that there was a feeling of dissatisfaction expressed by Francophone parents with regard to the French immersion language program in meeting the needs of first language Francophone students.

In response to the perceived need for change, the Board of Trustees engaged the Administration in a process of reviewing the district's French language programs, and eventually in developing a policy statement that would provide the direction and framework to improve the delivery of French language education in the district. Consequently, the Task Force Committee formulated a plan or strategy to fulfill this task by engaging Edmonton Catholic residents in the process of identifying the relevant issues in French language education, defining the problems, and determining the extent of the perceived discrepancy between what the French language program was achieving or attaining, and what, in the eyes of the stakeholders, it should be attaining. The consultative process provided the essential information which formed the basis for the determination of policy actions and for the formulation of district policy. The following chronology is a summary of the integrative policy planning and policymaking approach used in the formulation of the District Language Policy # 403.

POLICYMAKING ON FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT: 1983-1986
AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM		
PROCESSING VALUES January 17, 1983 - June 13, 1983	1.	The French Language Task Force assessed the values and attitudes of Edmonton Catholic School District residents with regard to French language educational needs for Francophones and non Francophone students.
	1.1	The instruments used in the assessment of values and attitudes were questionnaires, dialogue with stakeholder groups, briefs, petitions, letters and telephone calls from individuals and stakeholder groups.
IDENTIFYING GOALS AND NEEDS	2.	Through the instruments used to assess the public's view with regard to French language education, a report was generated focusing on the following:
	a)	An evaluation of the existing French Language curriculum in terms of the academic needs of Francophone children and an examination of the feasibility of integrating cultural activities into the elementary program.
	b)	The technical capacity of the Edmonton Catholic School District in terms of availability of personnel and of material resources.
	c)	Economic considerations.
	d)	Legal considerations.
	e)	Social considerations.
	f)	Results of the parental survey.

g) Opinions gathered in dialogue with stakeholder groups and with individuals or interest groups.

2.2 Thus, from this process, the Task Force was able to determine the values of Edmonton Catholic School District constituents with regard to French language education as well as relevant issues, significant problems and the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of parents with French language programs.

June 20, 1983

2.3 Recommendations from the French Language School Task Force assisted in clarifying the direction for French language education in the School District in the future. They drew attention to specific areas of concern, helped to articulate a vision for a desirable future and identified major characteristics of this desirable future. On the basis of this input, the basic aim of the policy was clarified.

Thus, the Board of Trustees had an indication of what the public and stakeholder groups perceived to be the problems with the present French language program, and the kinds of goals that policy should attain.

SERVICES AND ATTAINMENTS

1888 - 1972

3. Since its inception in 1888, the school district had offered offered French instruction to Francophones in time frames ranging from one half hour per day to 80% of the day. In the 1970s, non-Francophones enrolled in French language programs.

1972 - 1982

3.1 Bilingual programs were offered in six elementary-junior high schools and in one high school. Streaming of French and immersion students occurred in one school.

	INPUT
DISCREPANCIES	4. The French Language Task Force had analyzed and synthesized the data gathered to determine the following information and in so doing:
	a) identified the problems and the issues in French language programs for Francophones at the elementary level in the Edmonton Catholic School District;
	b) created a vision of a desirable future;
	c) gained an indication of the values and attitudes of Edmonton Catholics with regard to French language education;
	d) assessed the present state of French language education in the school district;
	e) established the goals and aims of French language education for the future;
	f) gained an indication of the direction and extent of change most supported by Edmonton Catholic School District residents.
	4.1 The task for the French Language Task Force was to convert the demands and supports articulated in the French language program review process into policy alternatives that would best reduce the discrepancy between the system's level of attainment and its future goals and needs.

CONVERSION PROCESS

POLICY PLANNING June 14, 1983	5.	The French Language Task Force Report was presented to the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education for dialogue. The consultative process provided the Task Force Committee with an indication of the acceptability and the feasibility of the proposed recommendations, and of possible consequences.
June 20, 1983	5.1	On the basis of input from the public and stakeholder groups, the French Language School Task Force submitted their Report to the Board of Trustees as the source of viable policy alternatives.
	5.2	The French Language Task Force provided recommendations for policy action to the Board of Trustees to improve the content and delivery of French language education to district Francophone and Immersion students.
	5.3	In generating policy alternatives the superintendent and senior administrators were guided by considerations for changes in the present French language education programs which had to be made to meet the needs identified, the structures which had to be put in place to facilitate meeting the needs identified and the acceptability of the desired outcomes within the value framework of the school district. Additionally, the final policy statement had to be consistent with the predicted futures, with the identified views and expectations of Edmonton Catholic School District residents; and

finally, with the pedagogical views of first and second language education.

5.4 The first policy statement based on the allocative decision was written by the Superintendent in consultation with Executive Council administrators.

		OUTPUT
THE POLICY STATEMENT September 1, 1983	6.	Language Policy # 503 written by the superintendent guided administrative procedures for establishing the French School.
September 19, 1983	6.1	The Board of Trustees directed the superintendent to set up a French School Committee to make recommendations on the possible site of the proposed school and criterion for admission to the French language school.
November 21, 1983	6.2	The recommendations of the French School Committee assisted in clarifying the direction for French language education in the School District in the future. They drew attention to specific areas of concern, helped to articulate a vision for a desirable future and identified major characteristics of this desirable future. On the basis of this input, the basic aim of the policy was clarified.
December 1, 1983 December 7, 1983	6.3	The recommendations of the French School Committee were dialogued with the St. Thomas Aquinas school community and with the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education. Thus, the Board of Trustees had an indication of what the public and stakeholder groups perceived to be the problems with the

		present French language program, and the kinds of goals that policy should seek to attain.
December 19, 1983	6.4	The Board of Trustees determined that students were to be admitted to Ecole Maurice Lavallée on the basis of the legal criteria of Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
July 17, 1984	6.5	La Société de parents pour les Ecoles Francophones d'Edmonton was established.
September 24, 1984	6.6	The System-Wide Advisory Committee on French Immersion Education was recognized by the Board of Trustees.
July 24, 1985	7.	Legal interpretations from the Bugnet Case helped to clarify the educational goals which the school district should seek to attain in the provision of minority language education.
	7.1	Language Policy # 403, was drafted by the Administration to reflect the intent of the Charter as well as the aspirations of parents of students enrolled in French language programs in the school district.
October 26, 1985	7.2	Language Policy # 403 was approved by the Superintendent and Executive Council.
	7.3	Language Policy # 403 was revised to reflect Alberta's policy on multiculturalism.
FORMAL ADOPTION OF POLICY # 403 February 3, 1986	8.	The Board of Trustees approved Language Policy # 403 which responded to the aspirations of the parents of all students enrolled in Official or Heritage Language programs.

SUMMARY

The dynamics involved in the formulation of the Edmonton Catholic School District's Language Policy # 403 cannot be fully explained or understood from the perspective of a single theoretical framework. Each of the six theoretical frameworks discussed in this chapter reveals a new dimension of the policymaking process. The process adopted in the formulation of Board language education policies most clearly demonstrates a Systems approach to policymaking according to a Rational Model. Group Theory enhances our understanding of the dynamics involved in the participation of individual and stakeholder groups due to the consultative approach adopted by the Board of Trustees in the conduct of the program review and the formulation of policy. Elements of Dye's Elite and Institutional Models provide some clarifying perspectives of the policy process.

Continued implementation of the Language Policy # 403 will reveal whether the consultative stance adopted by the Board did foster a better understanding and acceptance of the policy by Edmonton Catholic School District residents and the major stakeholding groups; whether it did change the perceptions and attitudes toward French language education programs; and, finally, whether it will influence concerned stakeholders to become actively involved in future educational policy processes within the school district.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The stated purpose of this study was to describe and analyze the pattern of events that attended the decision of the Edmonton Catholic School Board to approve a policy on French language education in terms of six theoretical frameworks. Models of policymaking taken from the literature were utilized to analyze the public policymaking process at the school district level. Each model provided a particular perspective and contributed to a greater understanding of different dimensions of the policy formulation process.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a concise review of the study as described in the previous pages. The review is divided into three parts. The first part provides a description of the study and the methodology. The findings and conclusions of the study are presented in the second section. The third section contains a discussion of the implications of the study for theory and practice as well as recommendations for future research.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The general purpose of the study was to examine the formulation of policy on French language instruction in the

Edmonton Catholic School District. The intent was to make explicit what actually took place in a retrospective sense because it is necessary to know and to understand the past to gain a perspective on the present and future direction of school governance at the level of the Board of Trustees. Because a consultative process was adopted by the Edmonton Catholic School Board in the resolution of the issue of French language education, the study focused on the participation of the following major stakeholder groups: the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education, Parent Advisory Committees of French immersion schools, district educators, L´Association canadienne-française de l´Alberta (ACFA), Les Agents de la Pastorale francophone d´Edmonton, La Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec, the ACFA Ad Hoc Committee, the Saint Thomas Aquinas French immersion parents, and parents from J. H. Picard School and Saint Mary´s Academic Occupational Program.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

A case study approach from an historical perspective was adopted to examine this particular example of policymaking by an urban school board. The case study was carried out in essentially two steps: the first stage was the development of a descriptive chronology of the time period from January 1983 when the Board of Trustees initiated a review of the district´s French language

programs to 1986 when Language Policy #403 was adopted. During the second stage, the chronology served as an organizing framework for the actual analysis of the policymaking process.

Stage One: Chronology of Events

A chronology of the events (Appendix C) arising from the demand for a French language school was derived from primary source documents which were comprised mainly of letters, reports, committee minutes, board minutes and briefs contained in the files of the Edmonton Catholic School District and of the (ACFA) Ad Hoc Committee. Additionally, numerous newspaper articles and editorials pertaining to the French school issue, written in Alberta and Canadian daily and weekly newspapers during the period from December 1982 to September 1986, were collected and reviewed. To further supplement and validate the data collected, interviews were conducted with significant actors from major stakeholder groups identified including representatives of the senior administration and trustees of the Edmonton Catholic School District, the Alberta Department of Education and the former Minister of Education, Dave King.

The comprehensive review of the processes involved in the resolution of the French minority language education issue was the result of a synthesis of documents which

contributed information and historical data, as well as information gathered through interviews with relevant key actors familiar and knowledgeable with the process under investigation. The chronology of events was then validated by submitting it to individuals selected on the basis of their position of authority and familiarity with the process. They reviewed the chronology for its accuracy in terms of time-line, sequencing of events and content. The chronology provided the data base for the detailed analysis of the policymaking process.

Stage Two: The Analysis

The analysis of the processes involved in the formulation of Language Policy # 403 revolved around the application of the six theoretical models described in chapter two: the Systems Model, the Group Theory Model, the Elite Model,the Rational Model, the Institutional Model, and finally, an Integrated System Framework.

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

To examine the processes involved in the policymaking on French Language Education by the Edmonton Catholic School Board, the researcher essentially utilized five research questions to guide data collection. Throughout the various chapters in the study, the questions have been addressed where applicable. To summarize the substance of the study, a brief discussion of influence, gatekeeping structures, the

political process and consequences of the policy based on analysis of the research questions is now presented.

Sources of Influence

The basic strategy utilized in the policy review within the school district was based on a consultative approach in a deliberate effort to involve district residents in the identification and clarification of the existing French language programs in the district. The views, expectations, and preferences of all affected stakeholders and those of Francophone interest groups were used as the value base from which policy alternatives concerning the goals and future direction of French language education were generated.

The following table provides a summary of the sources of input and the strategies which influenced the Edmonton Catholic School Board's decision-making.

Table IV

The Political Dimension of the Consultative Process Employed in the French Language Education Review

PUBLIC	EXPERTISE	QUASI POLITICAL	PURE POLITICAL
Survey	Task Force	Superintendent's French School Committee	Board of Trustees
Forums	Research		Minister of Education
Briefs	Alberta Education		Federal Parliament
Petitions			
News media			

Demands and Supports

The significant event perceived to have generated a need for a policy review was rejection of the demand by L'Association Georges et Julia Bugnet for a "private" alternative French school under the umbrella of the school district.

The most significant factor considered by the majority of respondents to be instrumental in generating a demand for change was an increased discontent with and lack of confidence in the French immersion program for minority language students. Other factors perceived to be influential included the following:

1) the fact that since the early 1970s, French language programs had become more oriented to serving the needs of students whose first language was not French, and that a need existed to provide a more challenging language program to mother tongue Francophones;

2) the fact that the growing rate of assimilation indicated a need to provide an educational ambience which would respond to the cultural needs of Francophones and prepare them to become contributing citizens in a bilingual Canada;

3) the need to differentiate between the goals and objectives of language education for Francophones and for non-Francophones.

In conclusion, the establishment of a French language school and the adoption of a new language policy was in response to a combination of factors that had become of increasing concern to the Francophone community.

Levels of Influence

The participation of nine major stakeholder groups is described in detail in chapter five. Each group elected to become involved in the process with the intention of having their views and expectations heard, and to have their interests addressed in the policy decision.

Because the School Board provided explicit opportunities and channels for participation in the policy analysis process, the majority of stakeholders simply used the existing channels and did not resort to public lobbying. Their view was that such tactics were not necessary because the School Board had a tradition of being open and willing to listen. Obstacles identified by the stakeholding groups were the lack of information held by many participants in the Task Force enquiry and the lack of representativeness of members of Parent Advisory Committees and of the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education. These constraints limited the extent and depth of involvement of some groups and affected the flow of communication.

During the consultative process, most individuals and stakeholder groups communicated their views and expectations to the French Language School Task Force. Stakeholding groups who attempted to further influence decisions processed their claims through the political channel either by public presentation to the Board or by informal lobbying.

Data revealed that input to the French Language School

Task Force was received from an equal number of supportive, opposing and ambivalent stakeholders. Opposition to and support for a linguistic minority school were based on educational considerations which ranged from concern for the possible detrimental effect on existing French immersion schools to concern that the existing Immersion programs did not meet the needs of Francophone children whose first language is French.

The official position of the French community was communicated to members of the Board of Trustees by the ACFA, the FFHQ and Les Agents de la Pastorale francophone d´Edmonton by submission to the Task Force, by dissemination of research literature, by letter and by informal lobbying.

The (ACFA) Ad Hoc Committee, an interest group, communicated its position directly to the Board of Trustees by submitting a brief and a petition from the French community. The Ad Hoc Committee´s input focused mainly on the implementation of the French school concept. Correspondence from the president of the Ad Hoc committee to the board chairman, to all trustees and to the Minister of Education helped to keep the Committee´s position before the policymakers. The active lobbying of the group included personal contacts with trustees, direct contacts with senior administrators and the preparation of position papers for the superintendent´s French School Committee. Direct attempts were made by the Ad Hoc Committee to cultivate a

favorable climate toward French language education among the trustees and trustee candidates in the 1983 election. The committee was effective in lobbying trustees and gained the support of the majority of trustees. The committee appealed to the policymakers regarding the justness of their position and the implications of their support.

The System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education and the Immersion School Parent Advisory Committees generally possessed more potential influence than any interest group; however, the French school supporters appeared to exhibit a greater degree of manifest influence. The Provincial ACFA and the (ACFA) Ad Hoc Committee had a high degree of potential influence. Their positions were instrumental in determining admissions criteria and selection of the school site.

Nature of the Political Process

The School Board used the consultative approach during the review phase to assess the values, opinions, and expectations of district residents. The purpose of the consultative process was essentially to determine the value base and the level of acceptability of any policy change to the delivery of French language education. The mandate of the French Language School Task Force was:

1. To investigate among Francophone parents whether the educational and cultural needs of their children were being met in immersion programs.

2. To investigate among residents of the school district the interest in an alternative program to meet the educational and cultural needs of Francophone students.

3. To investigate the acceptance for an alternative French language program with stakeholder groups, particularly with the System-wide Advisory Committee on French Bilingual Education.

4. To investigate the implications of establishing an alternative program within the district.

Thus, residents were consulted during the review process through their participation in a dialogue with Task Force members or by means of a questionnaire, and through the submission of letters. Most of the major stakeholder groups were involved in this stage of consultation with senior administrators within the district. One stakeholder group elected to become involved in this initial phase through the submission of a brief and a petition while others became involved after the policy decision began to affect the distribution of district resources.

The process culminated in the release of a report by the French Language School Task Force which was a synthesis of all the data gathered during the initial phase of the review. Residents were asked to respond to recommendations made in this report through their representatives on the System-Wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education. On the basis of the information gathered during this phase of consultation, the Task Force presented three policy alternatives to the Board of Trustees. The alternatives

were selected by senior administrators in consultation with the chief superintendent for presentation to the trustees.

In conclusion, the consultative process and the participation of the major stakeholder groups in that process resulted in the formulation of the value base, the boundaries and the possible goals and directions of the district Language Policy. However, the policy statement derived from allocative and regulatory policies and from legal interpretations of the Charter was written by senior administrators and approved by the Board of Trustees.

Gatekeeper Structures

All respondents agreed that organizational structures had been facilitative in processing input to the policymaking process. As chief executive officer for the Board of Trustees, the chief superintendent was perceived by some respondents as having either facilitated or obstructed their interpretation of minority language educational rights. He was a key participant in the development of the French language education policy in response to the educational and legal demands of the French community and to the educational welfare of all students in the school district. Senior administrators on the French Language School Task Force were instrumental in recommending the establishment of a French school as a feasible and acceptable alternative for policy action. While supporting

the principle of a French language school for educational, political and legal considerations, the trustees maintained the district's commitment to French immersion programs and to all programs in the district.

The main obstacles encountered by supporters and opponents to the French school appear to have occurred in relation to the allocation of facilities. The success experienced in contacting the trustees and the Minister directly during the policymaking phase resulted in increased contacts with politicians during policy implementation.

In conclusion, opportunities were provided to stakeholders and particularly French language school supporters to communicate their concerns to all members of the Board of Trustees and to administrators responsible for French language services. Institutional structures facilitated the processing of input from all stakeholders.

Symbolic and Tangible Consequences

The tangible means by which the Board chose to address the educational problems faced by the Francophone community and their perceived need of unique instructional programs for the minority language students was the establishment of Ecole Maurice Lavallée. A distinct French language arts curriculum was adopted for the minority language elementary students and a distinct advisory committee was set up for Francophone parents. On the symbolic level, the Board of

Trustees had recognized the unique identity, the way of life and the language of Alberta's linguistic minority while respecting the identity of students of a second language.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the data presented and discussed in the preceding chapters, several conclusions can be made in regard to the questions which were posed in the first chapter and which provide the structure for this study.

1. Individuals and groups who sought to influence the policy decision included two categories: one supported while the other opposed the concept of linguistic minority education in a separate facility within the school district. Such input was consistent with the lived experience of the various stakeholders involved. Bureaucratic channels were mainly used to process the values, preferences and expectations of district residents which formed the basis for the policy alternatives generated during the policy analysis process. Although both bureaucratic and political channels of communication were used by individuals or groups who wished to expand or limit the parameters of the policy decision, those who supported the establishment of a Francophone school used political channels to a much greater extent that did those opposed to the concept.

2. Groups who favored a distinct Francophone school generally possessed a large degree of potential influence which they manifested to a greater extent than did groups who

were opposed. Those who were opposed exhibited little manifest influence.

3. Generally, interest groups channeled their input within institutional structures during the policymaking phase; however, appeals were forwarded to provincial and federal politicians when interest groups perceived obstructions to the implementation of their demands. Nevertheless, gatekeeper structures appeared to facilitate rather than obstruct political input.

4. The nature of the policymaking process could be characterized as rational within a systems framework. The constraints which were perceived by the policymakers included political feasibility, economic rationality, and the value preferences of the policymakers. Communications were received and solicited through bureaucratic and political channels. Both politically and rationally based communications influenced the policy decision.

5. Tangible consequences were achieved in the establishment of the elementary French school, the adoption of a French language arts programs for minority language students and the extension of French programs to Grades 7 and 8 during the following school year. Perceived symbolic consequences were an increased public awareness of the rights of minority language students and an appearance that these rights were being respected. Discrepancies between the intent and the implementation of the policy arose from

the lack of long-range plans for an extension of Charter rights in a distinct, secondary school facility.

6. An indirect tangible consequence of the policy was the acceptance of a mechanism for specific parental input by the Francophone community. The Board of Trustees recognized the need for their participation in educational decision-making by sanctioning the formation of an advisory committee to the Board, La Société de Parents pour les Ecoles Francophones d'Edmonton, and by initiating negotiations on a governance or management model.

IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the processes involved in the establishment of a French Language school and the formulation of a new policy on Language Education other than English in the Edmonton Catholic School District. By taking an example of a school board policymaking process and applying it to a number of theoretical frameworks, various dimensions of the process were highlighted, thereby contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the political process and perhaps implying its applicability to future policymaking situations.

The resolution of the French language school issue was typical of the process utilized by the Edmonton Catholic School District to go to its residents and solicit their

views, preferences, and expectations with regard to educational issues. Residents had been directly invited to express their opinions, and concrete opportunities were provided for them to do so.

The consultative approach does have its drawbacks in that it can raise expectations unwisely and seek information from uninformed people. However, the consultative approach utilized in the formulation of the district language policy had the following advantages:

1) It increased the knowledge and understanding of critical local issues in education and of the policymaking process by which school boards attempt to resolve local problems.

2) It tested and expanded the zone of tolerance or acceptability of district residents with regard to educational change.

3) It nurtured a sense of commitment to and ownership in local policy decision-making.

Finally, the whole consultative process adopted by the Edmonton Catholic School Board reflects the basic policy of the school district which views education as a shared responsibility among parents, educators, the parish and the community. Given the Mission Statement of the School district (Policy # 100) and the Goals of Education in Alberta, the following implications can be drawn.

Although, the provincial legislature has delegated certain discretionary powers to elected trustees to determine the direction of education locally, that direction is often determined through influences exerted by major

stakeholding and interest groups. The decision-making process in the Edmonton Catholic School District's adoption of a language education policy can be viewed as attempting not only to encourage the input of individual and stakeholding groups, but also to control it by providing explicit channels and opportunities for such input.

It is apparent that trustees ultimately determine what is in the best interests of their jurisdiction. In making policy decisions, trustees rely upon senior administrators to determine which policy recommendations are the most feasible. Policy recommendations must then be accepted by an elected Board of Trustees that determines if the policy decision will be acceptable within the value framework of their community. Thus, the likelihood of change as a result of a new policy may be affected by the community's understanding of the issues to be addressed in school board decision-making. Further research is necessary to determine whether the consultative approach to educational decision-making does in fact increase a community's understanding and acceptance of policy decisions, and whether or not it affects their zone of tolerance for change.

In conclusion, the process adopted by the Edmonton Catholic School Board in the formulation and adoption of language education policy deserves further investigation to determine its long range effectiveness in responding to the

educational needs of students as perceived by parents, educators and members of the community at large.

The study has presented the positions held by various groups within the Edmonton Catholic School District relative to minority language and second language education. The researcher sees several continuing educational concerns for policymakers in the future. These include the need:

1. to ensure that French language education is accessible to all minority language children and to all students seeking to become bilingual in Edmonton Catholic schools; and,

2. to ensure that the interests and needs of all resident students is accommodated in the pursuit of French and heritage language fluency and proficiency.

The study not only has implications for the policymakers but also for interest groups who seek to influence the policymaking and policy implementation processes and for administrators faced with politically volatile issues. In regard to the former, effective pressure groups work through bureaucratic and political channels. Failure in either areas could limit or preclude the effectiveness of the group. The findings of this study suggest that undesired outcomes may result for some stakeholders during the policy implementation phase.

Problems might be expected during the policy implementation phase when: (1) the pressure group has had more success going through political channels than through bureaucratic ones; and (2) the legislation passed is

permissive rather than mandatory. Conversely, problems might be expected during the policy implementation phase when the pressure group has had significantly less success going through political channels than through bureaucratic ones.

Permissive legislation or permissive policies may be a valuable administrative tool in dealing with politically volatile issues. They give an appearance that the concerns are being addressed and may shift the focus of pressure group activities down in the hierarchy. Only agreements which are politically feasible at other levels will be made.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The type of research reported in this document provides several problems for the researcher. First, a dilemma exists in terms of the selection of issues and the related concerns for availability of accurate data. Issues are usually selected for study on the basis of their relevance and importance for today. Since an important part of such studies depends on the memories of the key actors involved, loss of validity of the results might be expected to be proportional to the lapse in time between the events surrounding the issue and the study. Addressing an issue when the circumstances and relationships among groups and individuals have not yet changed, produces the problem for the researcher of gaining access to confidential

information, and collecting data about the issue which, if made public, may militate against desired outcomes for one or more key actors. The researcher must be careful to ascertain the availability of key information and the willingness of the policymakers to cooperate before committing herself/himself to a particular research problem. The researcher's familiarity with a policy issue either as participant observer or as a key actor does assist in making important decisions in regard to the accessibility of pertinent information.

Based on the findings of this study, further policy studies might be conducted in an effort to examine the generalizability of the tentative findings to other policy decisions. Studies could address questions such as:

1. What methods do groups and individuals concerned with local educational issues use to communicate their positions to School Board Trustees?

2. Are those groups who work more closely with administrators than with School Board Trustees more successful in achieving policy changes?

3. To what extent are school board policies based on educational as opposed to political considerations?

4. To what extent are school board policies based on economic opportunism as opposed to problem-solving?

5. What are the consequences of short-range decisions as opposed to long-range planning in terms of the focus of the activities of pressure groups?

6. How do federal, provincial and municipal policies affect the discretionary decision-making powers of school boards?

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APPENDIX A

FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT AND ATTENDANT REGULATIONS AND POLICIES

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FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT AND ATTENDANT REGULATIONS AND POLICIES: 1888-1982

1888 The St. Joachim Catholic Separate School District # 7 of the Northwest Territories was established. Trustees held their first meeting on October 18.

The Northwest Territories Act allowed French as a language of instruction in denominational schools.

1892 Haultain directed the Council of Public Instruction to have English as the language of instruction and French as permissive in primary courses.

In practice, French as a language of instruction was limited to approximately one hour each day.

1894 French classes began at the Faithful Companions of Jesus Convent school.

1901 Section 136 of the Territorial Ordinances permitted a primary course to be taught in French - all day in grade one and one hour a day in higher grades.

1904 Edmonton Catholic School Board records indicate a policy of offering a French language program for French children.

1905 Section 17 of the Alberta Act maintained the permissive nature of French language instruction of Section 136 of the Northwest Territories Ordinances.

Missionaries began French classes at Saint Francis school which continued until 1966.

1914 French classes were offered at Ecole Sacre Coeur until 1973 and at Ecole Grandin up to the present time.

1928 Formation of l'Association des Educateurs Bilingues de l'Alberta.

1934 French classes were offered at Saint Edmund School until 1969.

1952 Ministerial Regulations were amended to permit instruction in French in the early primary grades.

1954 French classes were opened at Notre Dame de Lourdes elementary school in Jasper Place and have since been transferred to Holy Cross school.

1955 Saint Luke's School in Jasper Place offered Junior High French classes until 1966.

1959 Ecole Saint Thomas d'Aquin offered French classes to elementary students until 1984 when it was designated specifically as an elementary French immersion school.

1964 Department of Education regulations permitted French instruction 100% of the time in the first grade, 50% of the time in the second grade and one hour per day from the third to the ninth grade with a proviso that English be taught one hour per day. Three hours of French instruction were allowed in grade 3.

1965 The Edmonton Catholic School District centralized its French language instruction to grades 7, 8, and 9. Girls attended Académie Assomption, a private convent school established by the sisters of the Assumption in 1925 and boys went to Collège Saint Jean, a private college owned by the Oblate Fathers since 1911.

1966 French classes were offered at Holy Cross school until 1971. In 1983, Notre Dame de Lourdes school was transferred to Holy Cross and Grade 7 and 8 students have been in attendance since 1985.

1967 Académie Assomption and Collège Saint Jean received grade 10, 11 and 12 students sponsored by the Edmonton Catholic school district.

1968 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Ministerial Regulations recognized French language instruction for Alberta High School students. French language instruction in grades 3 - 12 was permitted for up to 50% of the school day.

1969 The Official Languages Act.

1969 Formation of Le Conseil Français, an Alberta Teachers' Association council for French language teachers.

1970 The Department of Education appointed an Associate Director to oversee the implementation of language education under Section 150 of the School Act and all Second language education.

The Edmonton Catholic School district's policy 503 allowed the use of French as a language of instruction in specific schools designated by the Board to the extent permitted by the regulations of Alberta Education.

Non-Francophones were allowed to enroll in Grade one bilingual classes.

1972 Ecole J.H. Picard, the first bilingual High School in the Edmonton Catholic School District was established.

Non-Francophone children were allowed to register in French immersion programs where instruction in French was limited to 50% of the school day.

1974 The Edmonton Catholic School Board approved a project for French curriculum development in French as a Second language and French as a Language of instruction in bilingual programs.

Grandin, Saint Thomas Aquinas and Notre Dame de Lourdes elementary schools offered two types of French instructional programs: one for Francophones and one for Anglophones.

The Board of Trustees directed that in September Anglophone students entering bilingual programs be admitted only to Grandin school.

1975 A system-wide advisory committee on Bilingual Education was established.

1976 The Board of Trustees requested that the Minister of Education allow French to be used up to a maximum of 100% of instructional time per school day.

Regulation 250/76 permitted an increase of French instruction time up to 80% of the school day.

1977 Presentation of Bilingual Schools: A Preliminary Survey.

1978 Canada's provincial Premiers reaffirmed their intention to provide education to official language minorities in their language "wherever numbers warrant."

1979 Alberta Education established a Languages Services Branch for curriculum and learning resource needs.

A report on Bilingual Education Policies and Services - A Review was presented to the Edmonton Catholic School Board.

Saint Stanislaus and Father Leo Green Schools were declared bilingual centres for kindergarten to grades 3. French immersion kindergarten and grade one classes began at Saint Elizabeth School in Mill Woods

1980 The Board of Trustees approved re-locations of school facilities to meet the needs of increased enrolment in French Bilingual Programs.

1982 Enactment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms with Section 23 guaranties of French language education for Official Language Minority groups.

Ministerial Order 490/82 re-affirmed the permissive use of French as a Language of Instruction and the mandatory time required for instruction in English from grades 3 - 12.

1983 The Board of Trustees approved the establishment of a district French Language school.

1984 Opening of Ecole Maurice Lavallée, the first elementary French school in the Edmonton Catholic School District # 7.

1985 Administrative approval was given to Policy # 403 which recognized the use of either of the two official languages of Canada as languages of instruction in the Edmonton Catholic School District.

Extension of Ecole Maurice Lavallée to include Grades 7 and 8.

1986 Adoption of Language Policy # 403 revised to recognize the use of heritage languages as languages of instruction in the school district along with French as a language of instruction for minority language students and for students learning French as a second language.

Extension of the Francophone program from Grades 9 to Grade 12 at J.H. Picard High School.

APPENDIX B

CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, SECTION 23

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CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, SECTION 23

Minority Language Educational Rights

23. (1) Citizens of Canada

(a) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or

(b) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province,

have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province.

(2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in English or French in Canada, have the right to have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language.

(3) The right of citizens of Canada under subsections (1) and (2) to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of a province

(a) applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction; and

(b) includes, where the number of those children so warrants, the rights to have them receive that instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds.

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF THE POLICY CHANGE PROCESS: 1982 - 1986

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE POLICY CHANGE PROCESS: 1982 - 1986

ASSESSING THE NEED FOR CHANGE April 17, 1982	a) Ascertaining the direction to to be taken to provide French language education according to s. 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
January 17, 1983	b) Assessing the consequences of the rejection of the Bugnet claim to establish a French alternative school within the school district. c) General discussion in legal, political, and educational circles.
GENERAL AND SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT PROMPTED THE NEED FOR A REVIEW OF FRENCH LANGUAGE PROGRAMS	a) Public perception: a perceived expression of discontent by Francophone parents and a perceived satisfaction by parents of children in French immersion programs. b) Future orientation: Enactment of s. 23 of the Charter may require the establishment of a French language program for official minority language education. c) Program review: Since 1972, the system had slowly integrated both Francophone and non-Francophone students in their bilingual programs. It was time to review the program content to ascertain that the educational and linguistic needs of the target groups were being met.

December 6, 1982

d) Cooperative outlook: The French Catholic community was involved in a confrontational debate on the claims of the Bugnet Association.

Francophone parents were demanding a recognition of their constitutional rights in education. The review was an opportunity to bring Catholic parents who supported French language education together to clarify the nature of French language programs and the effectiveness of existing programs in meeting the needs of District students.

e) Accountability: Need to distribute human and material resources in an equitable and just manner within the system to respect Charter parent educational demands and to provide educational opportunities for all students interested in French language education.

THE SUPERINTENDENT AND CENTRAL ADMINISTRATORS DETERMINE A STRATEGY FROM WHICH TO CONDUCT THE REVIEW

December 1982 - January 1983

Determination of the goals and objectives of the review.

ESTABLISH A 6 MEMBER FRENCH LANGUAGE SCHOOL TASK FORCE

January 17, 1983

The team was responsible for summarizing and managing the collection and analysis of public perception surveys, examining existing French language programs, advising on legal Board obligations, and considering the implications of change on district human and material allocations.

January - June 1983	a) Reviewing literature dealing with French language education for students of French as a mother tongue and students of French as a second language. b) Reviewing the current legislation dealing with French language education minority rights as determined by s. 23 of the Charter. c) Seeking input from Principals, Teachers, Parents, School-based Parent Advisory Committees and the system-wide Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education. d) Reviewing submissions from major stakeholder groups. e) Making recommendations for the future direction of French language programs within the district in accordance with the existing human and material resources.
OFFICIAL DECISION TO ESTABLISH A DISTRICT FRENCH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL June 20, 1983	Tabling of the Report and recommendations of the French Language School Task Force at a public School Board meeting.
ADMINISTRATIVE PLANNING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF CHANGE	a) Administrators planned for the opening of a French school in September, 1984 b) The adaptation of curriculum and acquisition of educational resources for the French school were undertaken.
October 6, 1983	c) The Superintendent's Advisory French School Committee was appointed to seek grass roots involvement by the French community.

October 20, 1983 - May 10, 1984	The committee was mandated to provide advice on the location of the school and the criteria for admission to the French school. The Committee was formed with a French administrator as chairman and a French Trustee as a member in order to demonstrate good political will towards the French community and to demonstrate the political dimensions and involvement in policymaking. The Trustees provided an opportunity for the public to become actively involved in the implementation process.
January 23, 1984	d) Appointment of the Francophone School Principal.
February 6 - March 14, 1984	e) Information on the French immersion program and the proposed French language program was distributed to parents of all students attending French language programs. Information sessions were held at all elementary French immersion schools. The purpose of these information sessions was to give parents the opportunity to understand the distinction between the two programs, to express their concerns and to assist them in arriving at an informed decision as to where to enroll students in September, 1984.
PARENTS WERE INVITED TO SIGN A FORM OF COMMITMENT TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO THE FRENCH SCHOOL February - March 14, 1984	Students who met the criteria of s. 23 of the Charter were allowed to seek admission to Ecole Maurice Lavallée.

May 7, 1984	Based on the number of parents seeking to enroll children in the French school, the Board of Trustees decided to locate the school at the J.H. Picard site.
	a) Policy statements were created in the office of the chief superintendent.
September 1, 1983 *	b) The draft version of Policy # 503 on "Languages other than English" had been approved by the superintendent and senior administrators.
THE WRITING OF THE FINAL POLICY STATEMENT	c) Revisions of the Language Policy were drafted by senior administrators.
	Policy # 403 recognized the use of either of Canada's two official languages as languages of instruction within the school district.
October 29, 1985 *	e) The revised policy was approved by the chief superintendent and Executive Council administrators.
	f) Language Policy # 403 was further revised by the superintendent of Program Services to reflect Alberta's Policy on Multiculturalism.
February 3, 1986	g) Language Policy # 403 which recognizes official language rights and heritage language privileges was adopted by the Board of Trustees.

* A documentary search showed no evidence of public Board meetings on September 1, 1983 or on October 29, 1985. The Edmonton Catholic School Board held meetings on Tuesday, September 5 in 1983 and on Monday, October 16 in 1985. Board Minutes of these two meetings do not indicate the adoption of language policies.

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY OF KEY INFLUENTIAL GROUPS

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GLOSSARY OF KEY INFLUENTIAL GROUPS

KEY GROUPS	COMPOSITION	POSITIONS
Agents de la Pastorale Fráncophone d´Edmonton	Archbishop MacNeil and priests serving the four French Catholic parishes	Advocated religious and cultural criteria for admission to the French school.
Association Canadienne-Française de l´Alberta (ACFA) (1925)	Provincial Association of all French speaking Albertans President Goyette Executive Assistant Lacombe	Advocate for French Language programs. Supported French school concept with initial "phase-in" and linguistic fluency as criterion for entrance.
ACFA Ad Hoc Committee	Group of Edmonton Franco-Albertans President Roy	Supported creation of a Catholic French school and the principle of minority language education for French students and French immersion schooling for non-Frncophones. Requested special advisory input to the Board of Trustees.
Association George et Julia Bugnet	Martel, Mahé, Dubé et al	Demanded a "private" French school based on Christian morality and the arts and Management control according to s. 23 of the Charter.
Board of Trustees 1980 - 1983 1983 - 1986	Chairmen: Tadman (82-83) Green (83-84) Chichak (84-85) Gagné (85-86) Trustees: Bouska Gibeau, Secker, McDonald, O´Hara.	Adopted policies respecting the principle of minority language education based on s. 23 of the Charter. Recognized La Société de Parents pour les Ecoles Francophones d´Edmonton

Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec	Association of Francophones committed to the protection of minority rights outside Quebec.	Supported s. 23 Charter rights to a French school.
French Language School Task Force	Chairman: Superintendent of Program Services and Language Supervisors and Consultants	Examined the curricular organizational, legal and financial ramifications of changes to French programs. Recommended 3 scenarios including creation of a French school.
Parent Advisory Committees Grandin, Holy Cross, St. Thomas Aquinas J.H. Picard, Father Leo Green, Saint Stanislaus, Frere Antoine and St. Mary's Occupational Program	Elected parent representatives advising the principals and staff of each school.	General support for the "streaming" of minority language students in the early primary grades. Support for a French school at St. Thomas Aquinas. Demands for co-habitation of immersion students at French school. Demands for segregated French High School.
Superintendent's French School Committee	Director of Planning and Communications, a Trustee and 5 appointed parents	Proposed criteria for selection of the French school site and for student admission according to s. 23 of the Charter. Requested formation of La Société de Parents pour les Ecoles Francophones.
System-Wide Parent Advisory Committee for Bilingual Education	An advisory body of representative parents and principals from bilingual schools with an Area Superintendent and French Consultants	Accepted the concept of a French school. Voiced concerns on admissions criteria to the school and the equitable allocation of facilities and personnel for all French programs.

APPENDIX E

POLICY ON LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION OTHER THAN ENGLISH IN THE EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT: 1970-1986

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POLICY ON LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION OTHER THAN ENGLISH IN THE EDMONTON CATHOLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT: 1970-1986

Policy 503 - 1970

French may be used as a language of instruction in specific schools designated by the Board to the extent permitted by the regulations of Alberta Education.

Proposed Policy 503 - June 9, 1980 (Deferred)

The Board will provide all students with the opportunity to obtain a level of fluency and proficiency in the English language consistent with their abilities.

Within the defined limits of available human and economic resources as well as those regulations pertaining to public education in Alberta, the Board may provide opportunities for study in modern languages. These opportunities will be designed to assist students in gaining a level of fluency and proficiency in at least one modern language.

Policy 503 - September 1, 1983 (Administrative policy)

A language other than English may be used as a language of instruction in specific schools designated by the Board to the extent permitted by the regulations of Alberta Education and as approved by the Board.

Second language programs may be provided to assist students in attaining fluency and proficiency in a language other than English.

Policy 403 - February 3, 1986

The two official languages of Canada may be used as a language of instruction in the Edmonton Catholic Schools. Minority language schools/programs will be designated by the Board.

A heritage language, other than English or French, may be used as a language of instruction in schools designated and approved by the Edmonton Catholic School District.

Core language programs will be provided to assist students in attaining proficiency in either of the official and/or heritage languages.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Dr. John Acheson, Superintendent of Program Services of the Edmonton Catholic School District, May 29, 1986.

Mrs. Heather Bourigault, Parent and Former member of the Saint Thomas Aquinas School community, March 30, 1988.

Dr. John Brosseau, Chief Superintendent of the Edmonton Catholic School District, June 4, 1986.

Mrs. Alice Gagné, Chairman of the Edmonton Catholic School Board, June 10, 1986.

Mr. Dave King, Former Minister of Education, September 15, 1986.

Mr. Guy Lacombe, Directeur de développement communautaire de l'Association Canadienne-française de l'Alberta, Former Assistant to the ACFA Executive-Director, August 20, 1986.

Dr. Phil Lamoureux, Coordinator of Alberta Education Project Team for the Secondary School Review, Former Director of Language Services, July 28, 1986.

Mrs. Jean McDonald, Trustee of the Edmonton Catholic School Board, July 21, 1986.

Mr. Frank McMahon, Parent and Former Vice-president of the Saint Thomas Aquinas Parent Advisory Committee, July 23, 1986.

Mr. Francis O'Hara, Trustee of the Edmonton Catholic School Board and Former Deputy-Superintendent of the Edmonton Catholic School District, June 3, 1986.

Mrs. Claudette Roy, Teacher in the Edmonton Catholic School District, ACFA Ad Hoc Committee President and Member of the Superintendent's French School Committee, June 11, 1986.

Dr. Claudette Tardif, Parent, Former ACFA Ad Hoc Committee member and Member of the Superintendent's French School Committee, June 16, 1986.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INPUT OR INTEREST GROUPS

What individuals or groups influenced or attempted to influence the policy decision?

(a) What motivated these individuals or groups to wish to influence the policy decision?

(b) What were the major arguments advanced in favor of a French Language school? Against?

(c) What vehicles of communication were employed by these individuals or groups to submit or communicate their views and demands?

INFLUENCE

What was your involvement or the involvement of other individuals in the decision-making process on the issue of a French language school in Edmonton?

What influence was held and exercised by those who had, or attempted to have input into the policy decision?

GATEKEEPER STRUCTURES

Did political structures obstruct or facilitate individual or group attempts to influence the policy decision?

(a) What role was played by the Superintendent of Schools in this matter?

(b) What administrators, to your knowledge, had adopted positions on this issue?

i What were these positions?

ii How did they come to take these positions?

iii Did their views evolve?

(c) In your opinion, what policy position, if any, was taken By the School Board on this issue?

i What School Board Trustees, to your knowledge, had adopted positions on this issue?

ii How did they come to these positions?

iii Did their views evolve?

NATURE OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS

What was the nature of the political process involved in the adoption of this policy decision?

(a) In your opinion, do you perceive the policy decision to have been a political decision and/or an educational decision?

(b) What constraints or significant events were perceived by the policy makers to be operative at the time the policy was adopted?

(c) What group or individual communications received by the policy makers influenced the policy decision?

SYMBOLIC AND TANGIBLE CONSEQUENCES

In your opinion, what do you see as future scenarios for the delivery of French language educational services within the Edmonton Separate School district?

(Include both short-range and long-range goals.)

Department of Educational Administration

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project Title: French Language Education:
A Decade of Divergence

Investigator: Simone Marie Anne Demers-Secker, B. Ed
Master's Candidate
Department of Educational Administration
University of Alberta
Phone: 453-1445 (Home); 432-4913 (Office)

Student Advisor: Dr. Al MacKay, Professor
Department of Educational Administration
7 - Education North
University of Alberta
Phone: 432-2073 (Office)

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to conduct a policy analysis of the decision to establish the first French Language School in the Edmonton Catholic School District, the political processes which were involved, and the consequences of the decision.

Risk, Benefits: There are no known risks. The main benefit will be to provide an historical description of the political dynamics which lead decision makers to adopt specific educational policies for French Language instruction.

Procedure: A minimum of one tape-recorded interview will be requested.

CONSENT:

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT I ---------- HEREBY
(print name)
agree to participate as a volunteer in the "French Language Education: A Decade of Divergence" project.

I hereby give permission to be interviewed at least once and for this interview to be tape-recorded. I understand that at the completion of the research, the information may be published. For example, direct quotations from the interviews may be used at the researcher's discretion unless I specifically request that certain views or opinions not be directly attributed to me.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed without my express permission, and that at the end of the project the tape recording will be erased. During the study, the tapes will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's home.

I will be reviewing the transcribed copy of the interview for accuracy and to help with the interpretation of the data. I further understand that I may withdraw from the study, or refuse to answer any questions, without penalty.

I am free to ask the investigator any questions I have regarding this study, until these questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

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Investigator Date

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Signature Date

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Witness Date